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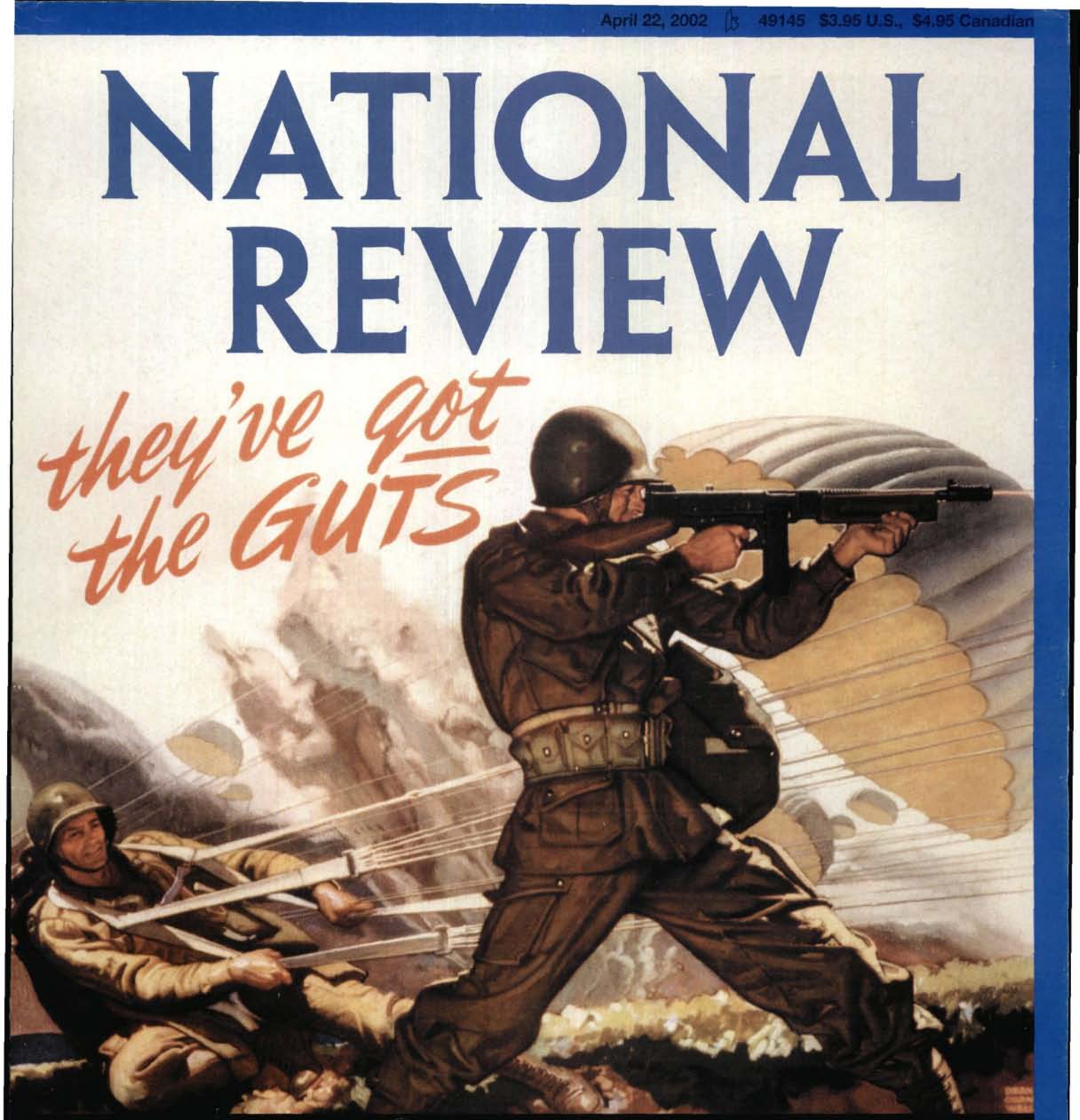

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A world of ideas on public policy.

Pharmaceutical Profits and the Discovery of New Medicines

by F. M. Scherer

Since the late 1950s, when the Kefauver Committee investigated the business practices of U.S. pharmaceutical companies, representatives of that sector have argued that its profits are an important stimulus to, and source of funding for, research and development – which in turn leads to a stream of health-enhancing new products. Although the argument is plausible on its face, quantitative evidence on the robustness of the linkage has been scarce. This article reports the results of a recent data analysis that yields surprising new insights on the connection between pharmaceutical profits and innovation.

Profitability and investments in R&D can, in principle, be linked in three rather different ways. First, successful R&D leads, with long and variable lags, to new products, which, depending upon their reception in the market, can add greatly to company profits. Second, the profits earned by a company serve as a source of funds to support R&D investment, and some managers are known to set R&D budgets using rules of thumb emphasizing an indicator of current cash flow or sales. Third, managers' expectations of future profit opportunities can exert a demand-pull influence on R&D investment.

In a recent study, I analyzed R&D outlays and profits at the aggregated industry level, using U.S. Census Bureau data on pharmaceutical manufacturing plants' gross margins – i.e., the surplus of revenues over in-plant production costs available to cover R&D costs along with depreciation, marketing costs, central office costs, debt service costs, income taxes, and net profits.

The growth rate of the pharmaceutical sector's deflated gross margins was 4.23 percent per year – much lower than the 7.51 percent growth rate found for R&D outlays. The disparity of growth rates implies a likely slackening of R&D growth rates in the future. If R&D were covered solely by domestic gross margins, continuation of growth trends experienced since 1962 would mean that R&D outlays would exceed gross margins in 2025. To be sure, profits from overseas sales also help to repay R&D costs, but since the United States is the largest single market for U.S. drug companies' products, retardation of R&D growth rates seems likely in the long run.

> ***The degree of coincidence between gross profits and R&D investment over the past forty years is surprisingly close***

Both R&D investment and the pharmaceutical sector's gross margins exhibit long swings around their exponential time trend. But the degree of coincidence between gross profits and R&D investment over the past forty years is surprisingly close. The association becomes clear when one computes the percentage deviations of actual R&D outlays and gross margins from their trends and juxtaposes the resulting series. This comparison shows that deviations from trend values rise and fall in tandem, confirming the persistence of a robust pattern between R&D investment and gross industry profitability. The swings are so closely correlated that it would be implausible to infer a chain of causation running from R&D to profits, since lags of ten to fifteen years from peak R&D spending to peak profitability for new products are typical.

Sensitivity tests revealed that these patterns persist when domestic R&D outlays, a time series available beginning only in 1970, are substituted for worldwide R&D outlays, and when fringe benefit outlays, reported by the Census Bureau beginning only in 1967, are not deducted in calculating gross margins.

Combined with evidence that profit rates of return on R&D investments tend to exceed risk-adjusted capital costs by only modest amounts, the pattern suggests that pharmaceutical R&D is best described by a virtuous rent-seeking model. That is, as profit opportunities expand, firms compete to exploit them by increasing investments, primarily in R&D, until the increases in costs dissipate most, if not all, supranormal profit returns.

If this is a correct interpretation of drug companies' behavior, it has obvious implications for policy interventions aimed at reducing the pharmaceutical sector's prices and profits. If governments attempt to limit public healthcare spending by imposing price controls on the pharmaceutical sector and suppressing its profitability, they risk undermining the ability of drug companies to fund the lengthy and difficult process of discovering and developing new medicines.

F. M. Scherer is Aetna Professor of Public Policy Emeritus at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government and a lecturer in public affairs at Princeton University. ***This article is adapted from "The Link Between Gross Profitability and Pharmaceutical R&D Spending," in* Health Affairs *(September/October 2001), pp. 216-220. The full article is available online at http://www.healthaffairs.org/archives_library.htm.***

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NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 2002. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P.O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P.O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $59.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

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April 22 issue; printed April 4

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■ LETTERS ■

ANTHONY LEWIS, FOR SURE

In "Ashcroft with Horns" (March 25), Jay Nordlinger quotes retiring liberal columnist Anthony Lewis as saying that the most important lesson he'd learned in 50 years with the *New York Times* is that "certainty is the enemy of decency and humanity in people who are sure they are right, like Osama bin Laden and John Ashcroft." I only wish the interviewer had responded: "Uh-huh, and you're certain of that, are you?" Clint Eastwood's Dirty Harry character once said: "There's nothing wrong with shooting, as long as all the right people get shot." In the same way, there's nothing wrong with certainty, as long as you're certain about the right things!

Steve Sawyer
Fountain Hills, Ariz.

Anthony Lewis is either not certain that his opinion is right (and is therefore decent and humane), or he is certain that he is right (and is therefore indecent and inhumane). After 50 years with the *Times*, he still hasn't seen the absurdity of being certain that there should be no certainty!

Douglas Taylor
Huntingdon Valley, Pa.

CHIEF ZOGBY

John Miller's assault on the Arab American Institute ("Arab American in Chief," March 25), though cloaked in partisan politics, is nothing more than a thinly veiled attack on ethnic political activism, namely that of Arab Americans. Your mission to defame persons of Middle Eastern descent is so obvious that it would be laughable were it not for its blatant bigotry. President Bush is working to unite our nation and promote our strength over partisan politics. I wish NR and its unnamed "Republican activist" would join him.

George R. Salem, Chairman
Arab American Institute
Washington, D.C.

After reading "Arab American in Chief," I must applaud Dr. Zogby's courage as a pro-life Democrat. However, I question the motives behind his continuing silence on the pervasive discrimination against, and persecution of, Christian minorities throughout the Islamic world. His failure to address this leads me to conclude that his numerous Muslim donors would not tolerate a defense of Christian minorities by their Maronite Catholic spokesman.

Fr. Keith Roderick
Coalition for the Defense of Human Rights
Macomb, Ill.

HUNGARIAN RATS-ODY

In The Week (March 25), indicating that the Hungarian Socialist (rechristened from Communist) Party would rename Budapest's "House of Terror" the "House of Memory and Reconciliation," you asked what the Hungarian word for "weasels" might be. The word is *menyét*, but lacks the same connotation. A more appropriate animal analogy would be "chameleons" or "rats." The Communists/Socialists want to change their appearance and flee from their past like rats. Thanks for not allowing them to get away with it.

Eugene F. Megyesy Jr.
Denver, Colo.

. . . WHERE CREDIT IS DUE

Knowing that NR would not wish to do an injustice even to an enemy, I write to correct an item in The Week (April 8). The point of the item was to damn the Associated Press for its foolish reference to "a fetus that is fully outside a woman's body." Great. However, you then say that "unless Peter Singer is writing your stylebook, don't you just sometimes have to call a baby a baby?" Now, Singer's claim that newborn infants are not persons with a right to life, and that it is often not wrong to kill them, is morally atrocious. But to give him his due, Singer does not deploy euphemisms or torture the language to disguise the killing he advocates. He *does* call a baby a baby—even when he advocates killing the child. His article defending infanticide could not have been more candid: "Killing Babies Isn't Always Wrong."

Robert P. George
Princeton, N.J.

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THE PEOPLE'S MOJAHEDIN OF IRAN

The aim of Sam Dealey's article (" 'A Very, Very Bad Bunch,' " March 25) is to exert pressure on members of Congress, who have stated their support for the Iranian Resistance in dozens of statements and thousands of letters over the past 18 years, to cease their support.

Since 1992, a majority of members of the House have supported the Iranian Resistance five times. In the same period, a majority of senators declared a similar position once, while on two occasions, a third of the Senate gave their support to the Iranian Resistance.

The article falsely claims that American legislators supported the Mojahedin for the money they have received from it. It claims that Rep. Dan Burton stopped supporting Mojahedin in 1995. But from 1995 through 2000, Rep. Burton gave his support to the Iranian Resistance in writing on at least three occasions.

The mullahs' regime has made the same accusations and smears against the representatives of the American people. The Iranian foreign-ministry spokesman said on October 15, 2000, that U.S. lawmakers had been "hoodwinked by terrorist groups." A state-run daily, *Abrar*, wrote on the same day: "The congressmen, in the most naïve manner, have fallen into the trap of the plotters of this political statement. In a dumb and simplistic move, they have been lured into a trap designed by the Zionists."

The inclusion of the Mojahedin in the State Department's list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations in 1997 was a futile bid by the Clinton administration to appease the terrormongers ruling Iran. A day after the announcement, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that a "senior Clinton administration official said inclusion of the Moujahedeen was intended as a goodwill gesture to Tehran and its newly elected moderate president, Mohammad Khatami."

Two years later, Martin Indyk, then assistant secretary of state for Near East affairs, publicly acknowledged that naming NCRI as an alias of PMOI was in response to Tehran's demands. He said, "The Iranian government had brought this to our attention."

The Mojahedin's military resistance targets only military and suppressive targets inside Iran, and is a legitimate resistance in the context of the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Geneva Conventions, as well as of Christianity and Islam. A majority of members of parliaments in the United Kingdom, Italy, Belgium, and Norway, and a large number of French and German parliamentarians, have supported the Mojahedin.

The murder of U.S. citizens in the 1970s had nothing to do with the Mojahedin. All the leaders of the organization were arrested in 1971 and later executed, except for Mr. Rajavi, who was the sole surviving leader, but remained in prison until 1979. The organization's leadership was taken over by Communist infiltrators who staged a coup in a bid to usurp the Mojahedin's popularity. The coup plotters even murdered those Mojahedin members who had not been arrested by the shah's secret police. The Mojahedin cannot be held accountable for acts in which they played no role. Contrary to the author's claim, Mr. Rajavi had no control over those who were using the Mojahedin's name. He condemned them right away and predicted that the coup would lead to the rise of the religious fundamentalists led by Khomeini.

Mr. Dealey's claim that the Mojahedin played a role in the U.S. embassy takeover in Tehran is utterly false. Khomeini's Chief Justice Moussavi Ardebili said: "[The embassy takeover] led to the confusion of left-wing groups and the Mojahedin and exposed their real faces" (Tehran radio, November 4, 1985).

The presence of a part of the Mojahedin in Iraq has no aim or reason other than the effort to topple the mullahs' regime. The Mojahedin's relationship with Iraq is that of two sovereign states, and even U.N. agencies operating in Iraq reported, after visiting Mojahedin camps, that "sites belonging to the Mojahedin were not under the authority of the Iraqi government."

The Mojahedin's sole source of money is the unsparing material support of millions of Iranians in Iran and in diaspora.

Shahin Ghobadi
People's Mojahedin of Iran
Washington, D.C.

SAM DEALEY REPLIES: *The assertion that the State Department identified the National Council of Resistance of Iran on its terrorist list only as a sop to Iran is not true. While Martin Indyk did say that the Iranian regime had brought the NCRI to State's attention, he also said: "Iran is also a victim of terrorism. We condemn these acts as we condemn all acts of terrorism." The Iranian regime is a nasty lot, but that hardly means all who oppose it are good.*

The claim that Massoud Rajavi held no control over the movement is also dubious. Despite his imprisonment, according to a U.S. intelligence report, Rajavi "rose to command in 1975 after the Mojahedin experienced an internal schism" and "maintained absolute control" over the Mojahedin.

Mr. Ghobadi's assertion that the Mojahedin did not take part in the 1979 U.S. embassy takeover in Tehran is equally dubious. Though mentioned in my article, it bears repeating: On the day of the embassy takeover, the Mojahedin's leaders stated: "After the shah, it's America's turn." And when the hostages were released 444 days later, the group boasted it was "the first force who rose unequivocally to the support of the occupation of the American spy center."

As for whatever support the Mojahedin has ginned up among various lawmakers—I make no apologies for the latter's ignorance or greed.

If the Mojahedin is serious about its reforms, there are a number of positive steps it might take to reassure the U.S. and its allies. The first might be a renunciation of its Marxist and anti-Western past. Also, it might identify and hand over those within the organization who participated in the attacks on Americans and U.S. business and government entities. Last, the Mojahedin could renounce all aid from Saddam Hussein. Until then, the inescapable conclusion is that this is not a group Americans should be supporting.

CORRECTION

RAMESH PONNURU WRITES: *In "Watching the Watchmen" (April 8), I attributed a quote to Human Rights Watch when I should have attributed it to Amnesty International. It was Amnesty International that said that the word "terrorism" should be eschewed because "there is no universally accepted definition" of it and "one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter."*

My apologies.

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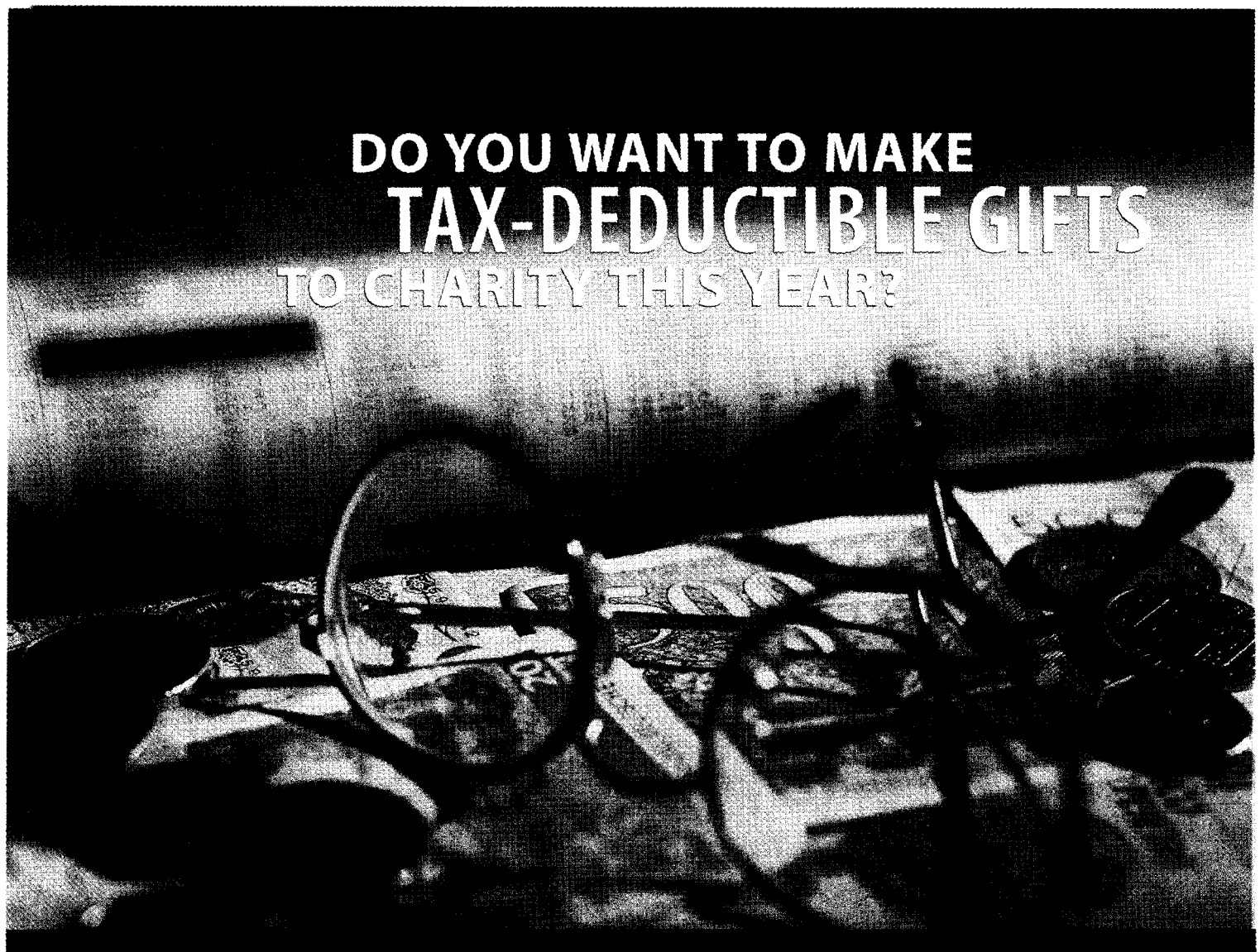

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■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ President **Bush**'s job approval, in Harris poll: 77 percent. . . . Bush in El Paso: "Out of this evil will come some incredible good. I believe strongly that the evil ones didn't know who they were attacking. They thought we would roll over. They thought we were so materialistic and self-absorbed that we wouldn't respond. They probably thought we were going to sue them. Not only did they not understand our resolve, but they didn't understand that this nation is not going to let evil prevail." . . . Bush in Atlanta: "We're going to have more fights when it comes to the judiciary, and I'm going to put strict constructionists on the bench." . . . Bush in Dallas: "We've got to get good, conservative judges appointed to the bench and approved by the United States Senate. . . . We want people to interpret the law, not try to make law and write law." . . . On day Bush signs campaign-finance law, Sen. **Mitch McConnell** (R., Ky.) files suit against it in federal court. . . . **John McCain**, on **Don Imus** show: "I'm so grateful the president signed the bill. If he had vetoed the bill, I'm not sure that we could have overridden his veto. In fact, I'm doubtful."

■ Gen. **Richard Myers** on doubts Pentagon could extend war on terrorism outside Afghanistan: "There should be no doubt in anybody's mind that whatever the president would ask us to do, we're ready to do." . . . **Richard Holbrooke**, in *New York Times*: "Right now, because of the strict limits that the Pentagon has placed on the international peacekeeping force—5,000 troops, no Americans, limited only to the capital city of Kabul—[Afghanistan] is in extreme danger of falling back into the hands of warlords and drug lords and terrorists. And if this happens, Afghanistan will once again become a sanctuary for attacks against the United States." . . . Pew poll on terrorism: 51 percent say "religion has too little influence in the world these days" and 28 percent say it has "too much." . . . In post–9/11 Department of Transportation test, airport screeners failed to detect 70 percent of knives, 60 percent of simulated explosives, and 30 percent of guns, reports *USA Today*. . . . INS was wrong to demote and penalize two Border Patrol agents in Detroit who criticized lax border security last fall, says Department of Justice inspector general.

■ Teamsters president **James P. Hoffa**, in *Washington Post*: "We have more access to this White House than we did to the Clinton White House." . . . Teamsters plan to channel 30 percent of political contributions to GOP this year, up from normal level of 10 percent or less, and International Brotherhood of Carpenters doubles Republican giving, from 14 percent to 28 percent. . . . In CNN/*USA Today*/Gallup poll, positive ratings for attorney general **John Ashcroft** are 57 percent to 27 percent negative and for **Tom Daschle** they're 41 to 35. . . . White House and Senate Republicans consider endorsing **Lamar Alexander** over Rep. **Ed Bryant** in GOP primary to succeed retiring Sen. **Fred Thompson** in Tennessee, reports *Roll Call*. . . . In Massachusetts, Republican gubernatorial candidate **Mitt Romney** refuses to sign no-new-taxes pledge. . . . **Phyllis Schlafly** on amnesty of illegal aliens from Mexico, in *Washington Times*: "It's out of sync with what grassroots Americans want."

"Solitary confinement is the witness-protection program."

■ In *Hotline* analysis of who is "becoming a player in the next presidential race," Sen. **John Edwards** (D., N.C.) leads all Democrats in number of keynote-speaker engagements before state-party dinners, with 8, followed by Sen. **John Kerry** (D., Mass.) with 5, Sen. **Joseph Lieberman** (D., Conn.) with 4, and **Al Gore** with 2. . . . Edwards is also preferred 2004 presidential candidate of Democratic party chairmen, according to *Washingtonian* survey, with **Dick Gephardt** coming in second. . . . **Al Sharpton** on Democrats and 2004 presidential race: "The question is not who can win, but who can best lose." . . . In CNN/*USA Today*/Gallup poll, 62 percent say Gore looks better without beard. . . . **Conan O'Brien**: "92 percent of Americans think the beard looks better without Al Gore."

■ Judge strikes down Alaska's official-English law, passed in 1998, on free-speech grounds. . . . Committee to Protect Journalists says 37 reporters, including 8 in Afghanistan, died pursuing their work in 2001, up from 24 in 2000. Number imprisoned also rose to 118, from 81. China is worst violator, holding 35. . . . As former D.C. mayor **Marion Barry** plans bid for city council, police find evidence of cocaine and marijuana in his car. . . . Bestselling author **Philip Howard** founds lawsuit-reform group Common Good, with board including liberals such as **George McGovern** and **Paul Simon,** plus conservatives **Christopher DeMuth**, **Heather Higgins**, and **Shelby Steele**.

■ At Arab League summit, **Crown Prince Abdullah** of Saudi Arabia kisses Iraq's representative in front of the television cameras, signaling, according to the *New York Times*, that "Arabs are ready to begin welcoming Iraq back into their fold." . . . Left-wing Italian terrorist group Red Brigades murders economist working on labor-reform legislation opposed by unions. . . . Zimbabwe arrests *Daily Telegraph* reporter **Peta Thornycroft** after she investigates charges of election corruption.

■ "*Playboy* magazine is now doing a 'Women of Enron' pictorial spread," says **Jay Leno**. "Apparently the only thing these women have left to shred is their dignity." **NR**

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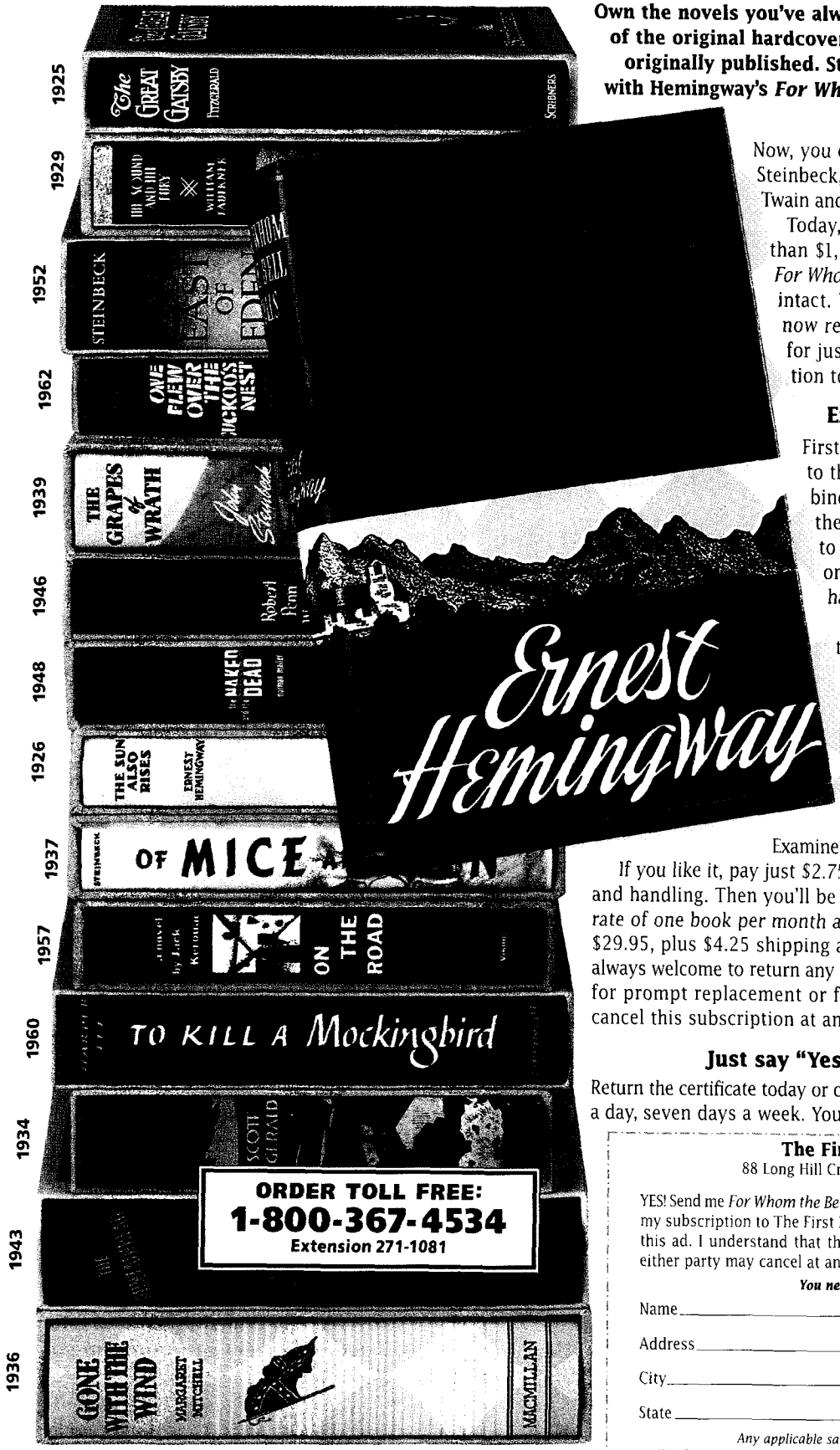

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THE WEEK

■ It was recently reported that Hillary Rodham Clinton is the biggest spender—of taxpayer money—of any freshman senator ever. So, she continues to "make history."

■ President Bush signed campaign-finance reform without the traditional signing ceremony. A White House aide told the *Washington Post*, "The president is not a hypocrite. It would have been completely inconsistent with his position on the bill to have some big South Lawn ceremony with ruffles and flourishes." We think we get it. Ruffles and flourishes are reserved for when the president signs bills that are constitutional.

■ Attorney general John Ashcroft announced that federal prosecutors will seek the death penalty for Zacarias Moussaoui, the 33-year-old Moroccan-Frenchman who was meant to be the twentieth hijacker. (Moussaoui is still among us because he was arrested in August 2001 for visa violations after arousing the suspicions of a Minnesota flight-school instructor.) Ashcroft has been attacked for making the announcement himself, thus showing (in the view of Moussaoui's defense lawyers) an unseemly partiality in the case. Ashcroft deserves criticism, but for a different reason: He lobbied for a trial in federal court, rather than a military tribunal. An outlaw organization slips an agent into this country who plots, with partners, to murder thousands of Americans. Why is a man charged with such an offense treated like a normal homicide, or a jaywalker? If Moussaoui doesn't deserve a military tribunal, who does?

■ Maybe along with the vicious anti-Semitism, lessons on how to be an ally should be offered at schools in Saudi Arabia. Lesson Number One: *Allies don't sponsor subversive networks in each other's country.* The recent federal raids on possibly terrorist-tainted Islamic charities and organizations in the U.S. all had Saudi money in common. Lesson Number Two: *Allies don't subvert each other's strategic goals.* Crown Prince Abdullah has spent recent weeks brilliantly opposing the U.S. push to topple Saddam Hussein, undermining Dick Cheney's trip with his empty "peace plan" and working to rehabilitate Iraq at the Beirut Arab League summit. The U.S. often worries about an unfriendly regime seizing power in Riyadh. One already has.

■ For months, the government and the media have assumed that the lethal anthrax letters following the September 11 attacks were the work of a homegrown malcontent, perhaps a rogue scientist. This was comforting: to those liberals who always prefer to flail Americans rather than foreigners, even in wartime; to all of us, since domestic enemies are easier to understand and suppress than distant ones. But last month, experts at the Johns Hopkins Center for Civilian Biodefense Strategies memo'd top government officials with a different scenario. In June 2001 two of the men who would be 9/11 hijackers came to the emergency room of a Florida hospital; one had a lesion on his leg that the examining physician now describes as "consistent with cutaneous anthrax." We know that the hijackers inquired about crop-dusters, in their planning days, and that al-Qaeda was building a germ lab near Kandahar (American forces found that site). An unfinished lab could not have produced the anthrax for last fall's letters. But the lab suggests an interest; the hospital visit suggests some familiarity. Both suggest tutelage, by a power more advanced than a rich religious bandit. Which means our problems, grave enough, may be graver yet.

■ When spring returns to Afghanistan, so will the remnants of Taliban and al-Qaeda, raiding from over the Pakistani border, or from what temporary hidey-holes they have within the country. Whenever they strike, especially if there is a lull elsewhere, we will hear talk of quagmires, or of Beirut at the time of the Marine-barracks bombing. The strategic situation, however, is different. We do not covet the country, nor do we intend to pacify it; we have no life-and-death commitment to any of the post-Taliban players. We are there to deprive al-Qaeda of a stable base for conspiracy and terrorism. This we have done. All the rest—even though it will cost time and lives—is maintenance. Meanwhile, the focus of the terror war must move on to sideshows, such as Yemen and the Philippines, and to major targets, military or political—Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia. When Ulysses Grant led the Army of the Potomac into Virginia to grapple with Robert E. Lee, President Lincoln told him to use a bulldog's grip, and chew and choke as much as possible. That, not policing the Hindu Kush, is our goal for the year.

■ ANNALS OF CLINTON: The former president tells *Newsweek* that his midnight pardon of Marc Rich was "terrible politics," and not "worth the damage to my reputation," though "that doesn't mean the attacks were true." So if the attacks were false—if, in other words, Rich deserved a pardon—why not pardon him, come what may? Didn't the boy from Hope learn this when he shook JFK's hand, and saw his courageous profile? Of the world, post–9/11, the former president says that the terror war is important, though "not like World War II at all"—future generations will fold it into their study of the former president's own foreign-policy achievements. To be cont., and cont., and cont.

■ A class-action suit filed by a black New Yorker seeks to

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Wildlife, Too, under Siege in Zimbabwe

Terry L. Anderson is the Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and the executive director of the Political Economy Research Center.

Recently elected Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe has clearly indicated that he has no intention of respecting property rights or the rule of law. His "terror teens" have brutally killed innocent people, and his "land reform" plan demands that more than 20 million of the 23.5 million acres under private ownership be surrendered without compensation. He has sent his thugs into the hinterlands threatening farmers and pressing squatters to take over the land. Insecure property rights have left Zimbabwe's economy in shambles.

Mugabe's assault on private property has also taken a toll on wildlife, for without landowners there is no one to protect them from poachers. **Before Mugabe's attack on private property, Zimbabwe had demonstrated how wildlife could be privately protected.** The CAMPFIRE program, for example, championed by the World Wide Fund for Nature, allowed local communities to manage wildlife. Hence wildlife became an asset as villagers in communal areas profited from hunting and photo safaris. Elephant populations mushroomed and poaching plummeted.

Stimulated by growing demands for hunting and tourism, private landowners also got into the wildlife business by combining small ranches into single units called *conservancies,* encompassing thousands of acres. The Save Valley Conservancy, for example, put together over 850,000 acres for wildlife management and reintroduced rare species such as black rhinoceros and roan antelope. Throughout Zimbabwe, 64 percent of kudu, 63 percent of giraffes, 56 percent of cheetahs, and 53 percent of sable antelope and impalas were on private ranch properties.

Unfortunately wildlife is under siege by Mugabe. Photos of mutilated animals in the February 2002 issue of *African Geographic* paint a sickening picture, and the statistics tell the rest of the story. To clear the land, squatters have burned more than 60 percent of the woodland on the country's three largest wildlife conservancies. The Bubiana Conservancy reports that 20,000 trees have been felled, 22 buildings razed, staff assaulted, and perhaps 50 percent of the wildlife killed. The Save Valley Conservancy reported more than 200 cases of poaching since August 2001 and the discovery of 5,677 snares. On the Chirendzi River Conservancy, where US$300,000 had been invested in improving wildlife habitat, 40 rare sable antelope and 200 large eland have been killed.

Poachers have also devastated smaller game ranches. Twenty-seven ranches in one region reported 2,761 animals killed and 26,292 snares collected. The value of animals lost is estimated at US$1.5 million. This value does not reflect the jobs—for whites and blacks alike—that will be lost as a result of the decline in wildlife populations.

The poor citizens of Zimbabwe cannot be blamed for trying to get their share of the land grab. **Mugabe has duped them into thinking that land redistribution without compensation or due process is the key to economic prosperity.** In fact, sustainable development will come only from stable property rights. Zimbabwe had previously shown the world how to balance economic development with conservation through private and communal ownership. Unless the sanctity of private property can be reestablished in Zimbabwe, its people and its wildlife will continue to suffer.

— *Terry L. Anderson*

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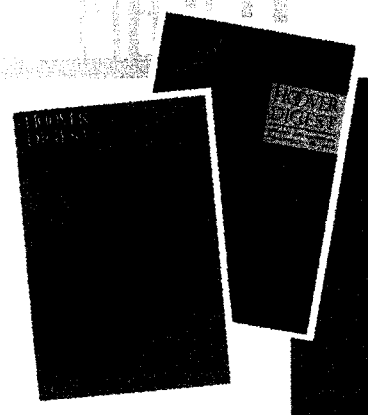

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shake down three corporations, FleetBoston, Aetna, and CSX, for their parent companies' historic connections with slavery. The Providence Bank, for example, one of several that merged into FleetBoston, was founded in 1791 by slave trader John Carter Brown, among others. Legally, it is demented to make claims of equity based on an institution that ended in the 1860s. Morally, the evil of slavery was purged by the immense loss of life and wealth of the Civil War. Psychologically, the campaign for reparations keeps blacks down on the plantation. Politically, the lawsuit may be the GOP's most devious and brilliant maneuver yet. Imagine, come January 2004, Beardless Al, Joe Lieberman, and John Edwards being asked at a debate in Iowa whether they favor reparations for blacks. Anyone who says no will be out of luck. Ditto anyone who says yes. Kudos to Karl Rove.

■ Speaking of reparations, David Horowitz has, as usual, been doing noble work, stirring up a fuss, teaching hard truths. He got many people to think about the idiocy and immorality of reparations through his controversial ad on the subject, intended for campus newspapers (some of which took the ad, some of which did not). Horowitz has been on campus himself quite a bit lately, drawing overflow crowds at such Left bastions as the University of Wisconsin, the University of Michigan, and the University of North Carolina. They are trying to shout him down, and the police are out in force (which says something about the state of liberalism on campus, as Horowitz points out)—but the students are hearing him, and who knows what minds he is winning? His current book, *Uncivil Wars*, details the controversy over reparations, and the unique Horowitzian role in it. Horowitz, an ex-leftist, likes to quip that his mission in life now is "to teach the Republican party bad manners." He is also teaching it guts and heart.

■ President Bush gave Gerald Reynolds a recess appointment to be head of the Department of Education's civil-rights office. Last June, Bush announced his intention to nominate Reynolds, but it wasn't until February that a Senate committee headed by Ted Kennedy finally convened a hearing. Another month went by and still Kennedy had not scheduled a vote. In the case of Judge Pickering, at least the Democrats went through the pretense of deliberating in committee; with Reynolds, a black conservative who has spoken against racial preferences, they didn't even bother. As long as fairness is in recess, recess appointments will be in order.

■ After months of opposition by the Justice Department, state attorney general David Samson has finally released the results of a 2001 study of alleged "racial profiling" on the New Jersey Turnpike. Upon matching photographs of 38,747 drivers to radar readings of their speed, testers found that 2.7 percent of black drivers—but only 1.4 percent of whites—exceeded the 65 mph limit by at least 15 mph. In short, black drivers may be getting pulled over on the turnpike more than whites because, well, they tend to speed more. Shortly after the study's release, the Rev. William H. Rutherford of the NAACP told an interviewer, "It just galls me to hear anyone make the statement that African-Americans are more likely to speed than whites or others on the turnpike." When policemen are unfairly tarred as racist, when their enforcement declines under the weight of that suspicion—that appears not to gall the NAACP at all.

■ Ward Connerly, who led the campaign to ban California from applying racial preferences, wants his state's voters to strike another blow for colorblindness. His "Racial Privacy Initiative" would get the government out of the business of classifying citizens by race. No more checking boxes to describe ourselves as white, African-American, Aleut, or several of the above. No more collection of data sorted by which boxes are checked. Connerly's medicine is proving too strong for some. John McWhorter, himself an incisive critic of racial groupthink—and especially of the destructive attitudes such groupthink has spread among black Americans—argues that the initiative would boomerang on us champions of colorblindness. If it passed, we would no longer be able to point to the statistics reflecting continuing progress by blacks. McWhorter believes that "there are few things more effective in weaning African-Americans away from victimologist ideology than hard data." We are skeptical about that claim. But even granting his premise, why should the *government* collect these data? Private-sector companies and groups would still be able to gather data sorted by race. Those data might not be as reliable as data collected using the compulsions of law, but they should still be sufficiently reliable to persuade those who are open to persuasion. The official policy of the state, however, would no longer treat the race of individual citizens as a matter of moral or civic importance. It would no longer, in other words, reflect the very ideology that McWhorter, Connerly, and we decry.

■ As our most important standardized admissions test, the SAT is the critical barrier to the complete triumph of a racial and ethnic spoils system in the academy. The voters of California tried to reject that spoils system when they banned affirmative action in 1996, but Richard Atkinson, the president of the University of California system, has sought a way around the ban through elimination of the SAT as a requirement for applicants. With the nation's largest university system about to withdraw its business, the College Board, creator of the SAT, has caved. The test is now set to be transformed in ways designed to boost minority performance. The famous verbal analogies, for example, may be scaled back or eliminated. Protests may yet save the test, but the outlook is bad. Sadly, it turns out that instead of doing the hard work of helping minorities to meet the highest standards, their "advocates" have decided instead to destroy the standards themselves.

■ Gray Davis, the Democratic governor of California, is blasting his Republican opponent Bill Simon Jr. as "pro-life, pro-gun, pro-voucher, pro-a crazy deregulation scheme, and

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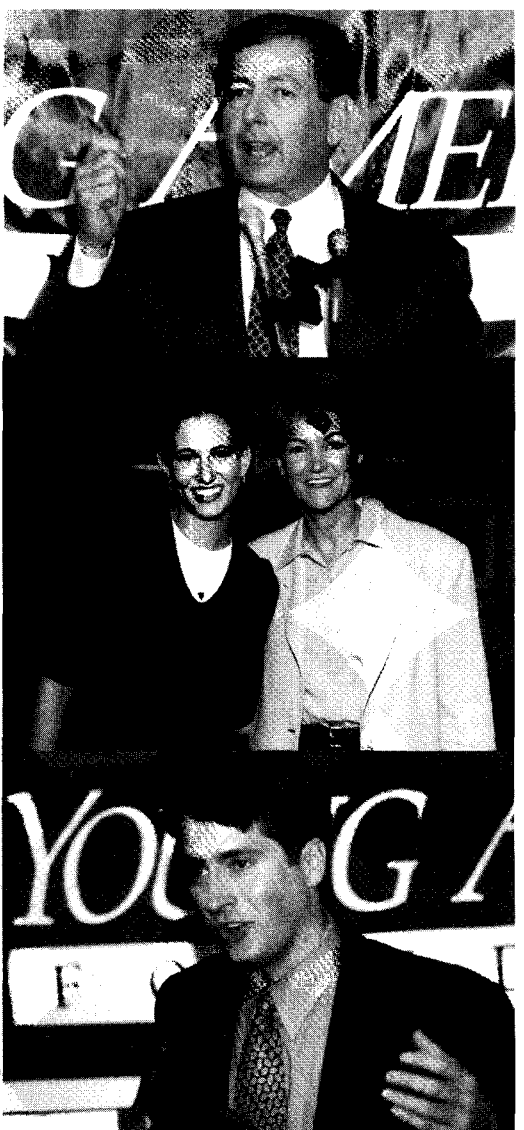

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pro-privatization." Sounds good to us, except for the "crazy" part. But wait a minute: Shouldn't Davis have said "anti-choice" instead of "pro-life"? Someone get the man a new set of talking points.

■ The Post Office is raising prices again, with the cost of a first-class stamp going to 37 cents. The federal agency no doubt will continue to struggle with profitability. Instead of selling postage, it should sell itself—to Federal Express, whose private-sector productivity would lead to better delivery, cheaper service, and shorter lines.

■ Predictably, Europe has reacted to President Bush's steel tariffs by imposing tariffs of its own. The Europeans worried that they would face a "glut" of steel as steelmakers in South Korea (for example) exported to them the steel they formerly sent to America. The Europeans are also considering retaliatory tariffs against America. Noting that Bush's steel decision was motivated by Electoral College considerations, they are thinking about tariffs that would hurt industries in key U.S. states. The prevailing assumption of the Europeans seems to be that Bush has hurt Europe, and therefore they should hurt America back. But the larger harm Bush did was to America's own economy, and European tariffs would primarily harm Europeans. Only mercantilists, or governments beholden to narrow producer interests, worry about having access to too much of a product at too low a price. The Europeans should refrain from raising taxes for their own good—as Bush should have for America's.

■ At last month's International Conference on Financing for Development in Monterrey, Mexico, heads of state gathered from around the world to vie for the coveted title of Most Forceful Exponent of the Myth that Poverty Causes Terrorism. Vicente Fox "called the world's efforts on behalf of the poor to date 'meager, tardy and disheartening,'" according to the *New York Times*; World Trade Organization director Mike Moore described poverty as "a time bomb lodged against the heart of liberty"; Kofi Annan chipped in that "no one in this world can feel comfortable or safe [safe?] while so many are suffering and deprived." The Associated Press, getting the point, headlined its coverage: "Poor nations warn rich: If you want security, you need to pay for it." It's a good thing wealthy nations are willing to fork out protection money—er, "foreign aid": Without it, what motive could anyone else possibly have for opposing terrorism?

■ Castro's government has now banned the computer, as you may not have read in your local paper, or seen on the network news. Ordinary Cubans may no longer buy them, or components of them, or materials for them. An article from *Wired*, the technology publication, speculates that "the rise of independent journalists in Cuba, who publish articles on the Internet criticizing the Castro regime, may have something to do with [the ban]. The correspondents, who risk jail time for their 'subversive' reports, send their stories by fax, e-mail or phone dictation to supporters in Miami." Some of us here rely on those reports from those brave Cubans for information about what is happening in that country. Castro is now clamping down hard on any peep from any independent voice in Cuba. Obviously, such voices have had an effect. Cuban patriots and democrats will just have to be, if anything, even braver.

■ Lady Thatcher, formerly Margaret Thatcher, Britain's prime minister from 1979 to 1990, has announced that she will give no more public speeches. The great lady, now 76 years old, has suffered a series of minor strokes, the first of them last fall. It is sad to reflect that all three of the great figures of the 1980s, who between them transformed the world, are now to some degree incapacitated: Ronald Reagan lost to Alzheimer's, Pope John Paul II increasingly feeble—he could not help carry the cross at this year's Good Friday service—and now Margaret Thatcher silent. Lady Thatcher's pen, at least, is not still: Her new book, *Statecraft*, is about to reach American shelves. Though we shall miss this wonderful woman's voice, we hope she will live for many years yet, and write many more books. She is still needed. As Lady Thatcher herself observed in *The Downing Street Years*: "I was, however, wrong on one important matter. Orthodox finance, low levels of regulation and taxation, a minimal bureaucracy, strong defence, a willingness to stand up for British interests wherever and whenever threatened . . . The arguments for them seemed to me to have been won. I now know that such arguments are never finally won."

■ The racialization of American life is a fact, and will not likely change anytime soon. But we can still bemoan it, and call for its reduction. This year's Oscars were the most racialized ever, as Halle Berry won Best Actress and Denzel Washington won Best Actor (and Whoopi Goldberg made her black-white cracks). Berry, on receiving her statuette, gave an unhinged speech that was less an expression of gratitude than a cry of racial "identity politics." In the heat of this night, Sidney Poitier was given an honorary Oscar, preceded by a short "talking heads" documentary lauding his achievements. Each person commenting—actors, directors, etc.—was black. Halle Berry, to conclude the documentary, said, "He is not just an African-American treasure, he is an American treasure." If that is true—and it is—then why have only black Americans comment? Poitier, to his credit, thanked a long roll of people who had taken chances and afforded him opportunities, most of them Jews, as it happened. When it was all over, Denzel Washington was asked when a journalist could write about awards such as his without regard to race. His answer, essentially, was, "How about now?" Yes, how about it?

■ The war against Indian names and mascots for sports teams has taken an interesting new turn. An intramural basketball team at the University of Northern Colorado, made up mainly of Indian and Hispanic players, took up irony as their weapon. They renamed their team "The Fightin'

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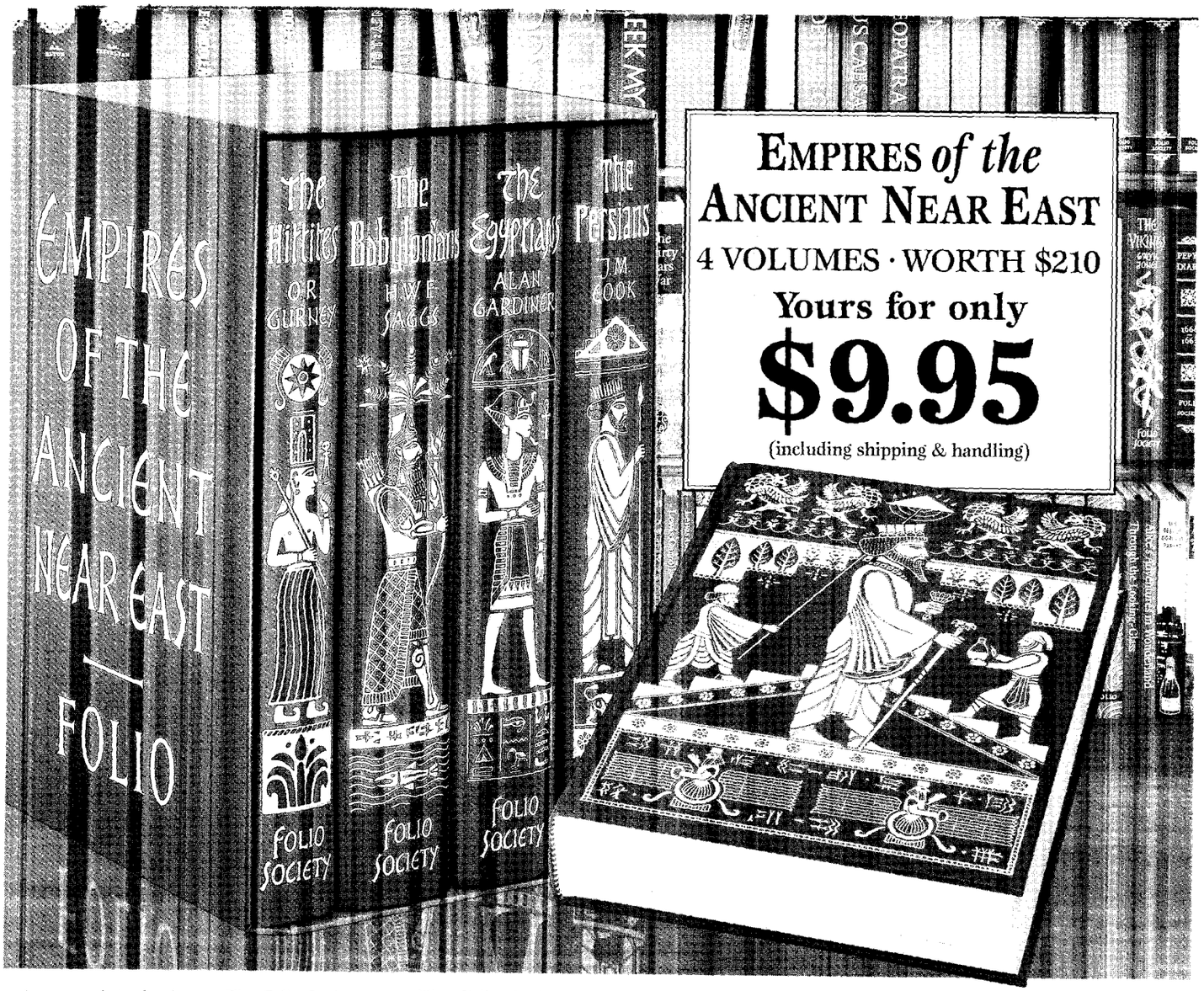

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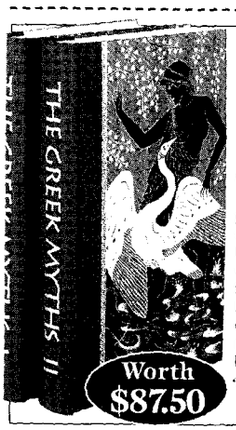

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Whities" and printed up player jerseys with an Ozzie Nelson-type white man on them uttering the caption: "Every thang's gonna be all white!" Alas, the locals, not quite playing along with the joke, have expressed vigorous approval that at last white men are getting some recognition. There has been a run on the jerseys. Grumbles Solomon Little Owl, the player who came up with the idea: "Some people don't realize what we're trying to do." Oh what hard, thankless work it is, raising the consciousness of the great American public!

■ It is an astonishing thing that, 85 years after Marcel Duchamp exhibited a common urinal as an example of ready-made "sculpture," the pioneers of avant-garde art can still find things to shock us with. The most recent assault on the frontiers of the acceptable is *Body Worlds*, on display at the Atlantis Gallery in London. *Body World* features the work of Gunther von Hagens, whose chosen medium is cadavers, mainly human ones. Von Hagens, a professor of anatomy from the former East Germany, has invented a technique for "plasticizing" corpses, simultaneously preserving their tissue while leaving them flexible enough to be arranged in tableaux by the "artist." The current exhibition shows 25 corpses in various poses, as well as 175 assorted body parts. Among other delights, there is the corpse of a man with his skull split open, carrying his brain in one hand, astride the flayed cadaver of a horse. Another item is the flayed, erect body of a man holding out a sheet of his own skin. The *pièce de résistance* is the bisected corpse of an eight-months-pregnant woman with her womb opened to reveal the fetus. More than 8 million people in Japan, Austria, Switzerland, and Germany have already viewed Herr von Hagens's work, without incident. Anglo-Saxon connoisseurs seem to be somewhat unruly, though: An outraged Londoner has been arrested for taking a hammer to one of the installations (of a corpse holding its own liver), and another gallery-goer threw a blanket over the mother-and-child exhibit. Pope John Paul II has for some years been giving homilies warning about the "culture of death." Anyone still not got the point?

■ Conservative personalities have long dominated talk radio. Rush Limbaugh, Dr. Laura, Sean Hannity, and their innumerable small-scale counterparts command the airwaves for good reason: They attract the greatest number of listeners. Their success has always chagrined Democrats, and recently the Democratic party in Oregon decided to take action, calling on its members to pressure radio stations to air Democratic views. Their hectoring is unlikely to be effective, since radio listeners appear disinclined to give liberal hosts the time of day. Until liberals come up with a host who can command an audience, they should just content themselves with the major newspapers, CBS, NBC, ABC, CNN, entertainment television, and the movies.

■ Eight years after an Albuquerque, N.M., jury awarded Stella Liebeck $2.9 million for burning herself with McDonald's coffee, High Court Justice Richard Field has ruled against a group of 36 people attempting a similar lawsuit in London. Field defended the right of restaurants to serve hot coffee hot, and further reminded plaintiffs that "there are numerous commonplace ways of speeding up cooling, such as stirring and blowing." We applaud Field's appeal to homegrown, traditional practice, and can only hope his vindication of that noble beverage may help it to reclaim a venerably anti-authoritarian heritage: In 1773, after all, the Continental Congress declared coffee the official drink of the American colonies, in protest of the tax on tea.

■ A movement is afoot to bring the hugely successful Speedy Gonzales back to the Cartoon Network, which stopped airing the clever Mexican mouse in 1999. Ted Turner, who owns the network and the sole rights to broadcast old Looney Tunes cartoons, banned the "fastest mouse in *México*" on the grounds that the cartoon perpetuates offensive racial stereotypes. Not least among the livid fans are Hispanic Americans, but the Cartoon Network so far has refused to bring the mouse back to U.S. TV. One venue remains where Speedy Gonzales's thick accent, amorous disposition, and penchant for alcohol and tobacco can still be enjoyed: the Cartoon Network Latin America, where the mouse is immensely popular with viewers.

■ *Lloyd's List*, the 268-year-old publication put out by maritime insurers Lloyd's of London (and which claims to be the world's oldest newspaper), will no longer refer to ships as "she," the editor has announced. In the future, all sea-going vessels will be spoken of in the third person as "it." The Royal Navy, however, declares that it will maintain the older style. Apparently striving to pack as much political incorrectness as possible into a single sentence, a spokesman said: "Ships have a soul. If I remember my history, they are female because originally the ship was the only woman allowed at sea and was treated with deference and respect—and because they are expensive." It is good to know that the Royal Navy intends to preserve this fine old tradition, along (we hope) with all those . . . other fine old traditions.

■ The Conservative Party of the Yale Political Union sends out an occasional two-page alumni newsletter, from which we gather that all is well. Excerpts: "A group of bright young Conservatives from across the University were inducted to further the party's legacy of sheer intellectual superiority. Debates have been lively and challenging, with members debating a wide range of topics, e.g., 'Resolved, that We Shall Pay Any Price and Oppose Any Foe to Ensure the Success of Liberty,' and, 'Resolved, that Suffrage Is Rightly Limited.' With exciting speeches, intense questions, and flowing beverages, caucuses have lasted long into the night . . . Words are not enough to thank Attorney General John David Ashcroft, '64, for his service to the United States. He has provided an inspiring model and set an example that all Party members aspire to emulate . . . Sometime Chairman Meghan Lindsay Clyne '03 waxed patriotic

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numerous times on the pages of the *Yale Daily News* . . . Plans are in the works for a regimental tie, blazer patches, and lapel pins. Imagine wearing Conservative Party colors while spending your afternoons at the Knickerbocker Club . . . Last year's banquet was a raving success. Members packed the Trumbull Room of the Yale Club in New York where, after cocktails and dinner, eloquent toasts to Yale, America, and other noble topics were made."

■ Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, lived through the entire 20th century, to die at age 101. With her smile and gentle manners, her strings of pearls and flowery hats, she seemed a survival from a gentler age. She liked people, and people liked her, co-opting her into the family under the nickname of the Queen Mum. Not royal herself but the daughter of a Scottish aristocrat, she married in 1923 the Duke of York, a shy man under the shadow of his elder brother, then Prince of Wales and heir to the throne. Following the brother's abdication in 1936 in order to marry Mrs. Simpson, the Duke of York unexpectedly became King George VI. Not only Queen, Elizabeth was then also Empress of India, a title nobody will ever bear again. Not one to surrender, she practiced, during the war, small-arms shooting on the grounds of Buckingham Palace. A widow for fifty years, she set an example of cheerful fortitude, doing her duty while still enjoying horse-racing and cocktails. Her death takes away another familiar part of the British landscape.

■ Milton Berle, who died at 93, worked in almost every 20th-century medium of entertainment except the blog. His greatest impact, however, was from 1948 to 1954, when he brought vaudeville and Borscht Belt shtick to television. TV has always been a venue for the hit-and-run. At least Berle filled our diminished attention spans with silliness. Soon enough television would discover Portentousness (bite-sized drama is much more problematic than bite-sized farce). Such considerations were the furthest thing from the mind of Berle, who only wanted to get laughs. R.I.P.

THE MIDDLE EAST

The Future Is Now

SEPTEMBER 11 is a landmark event. On that day, the disarray of the entire Muslim world spilled over in violence and bloodshed to the United States, and so to the democracies of the West. Many Muslims like to suppose that the United States and the West is to blame for everything wrong with their own states. This, of course, is specious self-pity. Muslims are themselves responsible for the failure of their states to modernize in today's world, and for the bad government and corruption that plague them.

How the United States and the West deal with the inability of Muslim states to fit into the modern world is going to determine the future. This is unmapped territory. The one and only guide is the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, a conflict already more than a century old. It boils down to the simple fact that Palestinians—and beyond them, other Arabs—have never been willing to accept a Jewish state in their midst. To them, it is of no concern that during the Hitler period Europe collapsed in an anti-Semitic frenzy, and Jews had nowhere else to turn to for survival except Palestine. They ask for the course of history to be reversed. So it is now the strange fate of Israel to be testing out exactly how the Muslim world can come to terms with modernity and democracy.

September 11 boosted those Muslims for whom coming to terms with the rest of the world means war and supremacy. Israel afforded them a prepared arena. Already over a year old, the intifada duly intensified, substituting religious fanaticism for political purposes, and killing Jews in a new version of pogroms. Over 400 Israelis have been killed so far, and some 1,500 wounded. Palestinian casualties are about three times as high. As if reluctant to believe the evidence, Israel has pleaded for political processes. Deploying strength symbolically, it has given warning so that buildings coming under fire were empty. Killing over 40 people in the week of Passover, the suicide bombers at last touched the core Israeli anxiety that once again survival is at stake. Prime minister Ariel Sharon accepts that this is war. Defense minister Benjamin Ben-Eliezer speaks of destroying "the infrastructure of terror." To that end, Israeli armor has moved into the West Bank to round up terrorists and begin the destruction of their infrastructure. There is no intention, Sharon and Ben-Eliezer stress, of reoccupying permanently land already turned over to the Palestinians.

Responsibility for what is happening rests wholly upon Yasser Arafat and the Palestinians. At Camp David in the days of the Clinton presidency, Arafat could have laid the foundations of a peaceful Palestinian state. Here might have been a rare example of a national liberation movement achieving its ends through political processes. But so contemptuous was he of Israeli concessions that he was not even prepared to offer any counter-proposals of his own,

Can We Talk?

Triangulating with Karl Rove,
Some rate the guy a treasure-trove,
Destabilizing Democrats
And messing up their habitats:
One doesn't want to seem unkind
(The Riordan boo-boo comes to mind),
But pushing immigration ain't
The coolest way to bob and feint,
With Bush's español so quaint.

—W. H. von Dreele

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instead hastening home to launch the current intifada. In a career spanning over three decades, he has steadily displayed the Pavlovian response that Palestine means violence. He brought civil war first to Jordan, then to Lebanon, and in the years after the Oslo accords he came to exemplify the bad government, corruption, and failure to modernize of so many of his fellow Muslim-world rulers. In their mold, he rigged the electoral process by which he became president. For his unfortunate people, he has been a disaster.

The United Nations, international Muslim forums, and European politicians now raise a chorus that Arafat must be protected. Their collective rescue of Arafat condemns Palestinians to endure more of the same, while simultaneously they reveal themselves unmoved by the prospect of dead Jews. Moral indifference of this kind can only widen conflict. Many quarters of the media follow suit, adding that Sharon's tactics are flawed, the infrastructure of terror cannot be destroyed, and the incursion on the West Bank will only help to recruit more suicide bombers. But nobody in the region has forgotten that the British before the last world war also faced a Palestinian intifada, and put down its infrastructure with a ruthlessness more extreme than anything shown by the Israelis. Determined to survive, Israelis are likely to succeed in their aim to damp down and control this intifada, if only through exhausting the other side.

Gen. Zinni and the Mitchell and Tenet plans are so many tokens of good will, perhaps better than nothing but unable to deliver. President Bush and his administration are in no position to remedy the bad government of Arafat or other Muslim rulers. So far, they are blowing hot and cold. Their pronouncements for or against Israel, for or against Arafat, are confused and confusing to Muslims and the rest of the West awaiting a lead. Events on the West Bank now are a portent of what is to come to the Middle East in the continuing aftermath of September 11.

DEFENSE

Give Us the Tools

THE national defense, as we were reminded last September, is the first task of the federal government. Whether the federal government should subsidize the purchase of prescription drugs is a debatable question; whether it should defend us from attackers is not. Too often, defense spending is seen as a competitor to domestic spending. Liberals say that more money for guns means less for education and health care. But our ability to protect ourselves—our lives, our independence—is a precondition for providing any of these other things.

Yet even after last year's reminder, we are still short-changing defense. As Mark Helprin argues in our cover story, even President Bush's proposed $48 billion increase in defense spending for next year falls short of our military needs. Our global responsibilities require a military that can handle two wars at once. Otherwise, China might be tempted to make a play for Taiwan, or North Korea for South Korea, while we were tied down in Iraq. If, that is, we get to Iraq in the first place: Reports indicate that one reason we have hesitated to move against Saddam is that we don't have enough munitions to do the job properly.

The Democratic alternative is even paltrier. Kent Conrad, the North Dakota Democrat who chairs the Senate Budget Committee, has drawn up a budget that short-changes defense by $245 billion over the next decade compared with Bush's budget.

Before the war started, the defense shortfall was estimated at $50–100 billion per year. The war has put further strain on military resources: Almost half of the president's requested increase is necessary merely to fund continuing operations in Afghanistan. And we will not always be blessed with enemies as quickly and cheaply defeated as the Taliban. To fight future enemies—and better still, to deter them—we will need more ships, more army divisions, more weapons systems. The armed forces need reform, of course; they always have, and always will. But what they also need, and more urgently, is more money.

OBITUARY

Ernest van den Haag, R.I.P.

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG died on Thursday, March 21, after three weeks in a nursing home where he progressively lost consciousness, in the end not even recognizing his old friend John O'Sullivan, who traveled to New Jersey to see him, and bid goodbye, as we all knew it would be at that point, Ernest having reached the age of 87, succumbing now to the myriad attenuations of old age.

He had been an associate of NATIONAL REVIEW for 45 years. He was not a member of the staff, but rather a consultant and occasional contributor. He was a scholar who worked at home and in the libraries, and taught law and sociology at New York University, New York Law School, and the New School for Social Research. For many years, he maintained a private practice in psychoanalytical counseling.

He was most awfully learned. One time, at a long lunch, he told me about his travails as a young Dutchman in Italy, whisked off by the Fascists to prison, where he spent the next two years. After his release, he made his way to France and studied at the Sorbonne, but when the Nazis came in, he was put in a concentration camp. He managed to escape to Portugal, eventually boarding a ship to New York, where he arrived not speaking a word of English.

I remember asking him whether there was any other language he didn't speak. He gave his little smile, and declined to answer the question. He was never modest about his attainments, and was surprised whenever they were, however indirectly, called into question. One of our anti-Communist committees asked him, in 1962, to travel to Katanga to evaluate the situation there when we suspected that Moise Tshombe was being elbowed out by leftist forces

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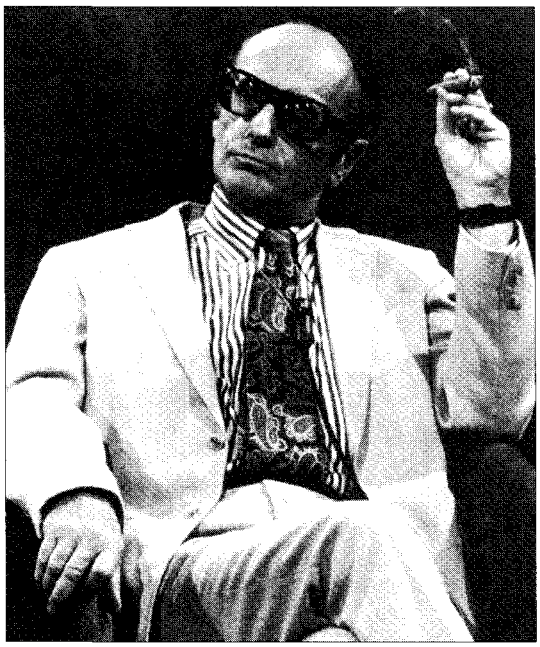
in the Congo, from which Katanga had seceded. Ernest returned to New York with on-the-scene information and met with the press. One reporter asked whether it was true that Tshombe had stacked an arsenal next to a hospital in order to deceive attackers. Van den Haag said no, he had looked into that charge and it was not true. The reporter asked, "But can we believe you?" Van den Haag said he was accustomed to being believed, and puffed on his little cigar.

The brand was Myanmar, a dry Dutch cigar about the size of his thumb, and he carried two with him until the awful day a few years ago when, bowing to the medical evidence, he gave up smoking. That was a great deprivation, the sense of taste being so strong in him, though he cared not at all for wine. For decades it was a standing jest among his friends that any invitation by Ernest van den Haag to go out for lunch—his favorite meal—meant to go to a restaurant of finished French cuisine, and to pay the bill. Ernest's contribution to the lunch was his own company, and his analysis of public problems, always acute and reflective.



He did not write many books, though he began with the massive *Fabric of Society* with Professor Ralph Ross, a textbook of sorts that comprehended psychology and sociology, economics and politics. A few months after I had been introduced to him—he was lunching with Professor Sidney Hook and called me over to remark on an essay I had written about the shortcomings of Dwight Macdonald—he phoned to invite me to lunch a few weeks later and told me that I had the option of remaining half ignorant or of learning about the profundities of life, in which case I could read his textbook.

His special skill was the crisp essay, in which he distilled his thought and analysis with precisionist care. His extemporaneous skills were displayed in brief and simple sentences that built on one another with quite devastating effect. In my book on the television show *Firing Line*, I gave an example. The subject of the hour was capital punishment, the opponent of it the dean of the New York Law School, Professor Donald Shapiro, who contended that capital punishment does not deter, as witness the concurrence of capital punishment and murder in Victorian England. Mr. Shapiro went on at some length making his point, while Ernest sat there with stern bemusement. Finally he spoke up.

Here are ten sentences of arresting lucidity:

> May I point out that murderers are the people who have *not* been deterred, so this discussion is a little bit irrelevant. I would never maintain that *everybody* is deterred. The second point I would like to make, about Dr. Johnson [that's Dr. Samuel Johnson, whom Mr. Shapiro had cited], is that *he* made a mistake, which does not justify Professor Shapiro's making the same mistake. You see, the deterrent effect of the death penalty, including the hanging of a pickpocket, does not mean that the crime will be eliminated. It means merely that the rate at which it is committed will be diminished. Now, if Dr. Johnson had shown that in two equally sized crowds the one in which the pickpocket was hanged showed no less activity in picking pockets than the other, he might have made a point.
>
> But even there I'm not convinced, because, you see, a professional pickpocket would have known, in those days, that if apprehended, he would be hanged. So we did not expect him to be deterred. What we *really* mean by deterrence is that we want to deter *new* entrants into the profession. Those who are already entering the profession, knowing that they run the risk of being hanged, are not likely to be surprised seeing someone else being hanged, and are not therefore likely to be deterred by it. What we *do* hope to do by hanging (or whatever the form of execution is) is to deter those not already committed to their criminal profession. That is, we make that profession so costly that we decrease the number of entrants.

He then completed his thought.

> When we discuss the death penalty, it seems to me that what we are really discussing is whether the *supplementary* deterrent is sufficient to justify the penalty; and that's a different discussion, one which, I think, imposes the burden of proof on Dean Shapiro. He would need to prove why, suddenly—given that normally the more severe the penalty the greater the deterrent weight—a five-dollar fine would not deter people from rape as much as five years in prison; and why ten years in prison might deter more than five—why that deterrent-enhancement should suddenly stop at the death penalty. Why the death penalty should not effectively add to deterrence has always puzzled me.

He even supplied a coda.

> Further, we wish to proclaim the sacredness and the inviolability of human life, and there is no way in which the law can proclaim that sacredness other than by saying, "He who violates what is inviolable will himself suffer the taking of his own life."

I was awestruck by the fluency of this analysis and commented: "You sound like the Old Testament." He replied, "I do indeed."

On the matter of the Testaments, new and old, he wrote in his contribution to the book *Nearer My God* that he was now—that was five or six years ago—a convert to Catholicism in substance but not in form. "I stayed away for a long

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time from the Church," he wrote, "except in the most formal sense and I am only now making my way back." He had made his way back all the way when a few weeks ago he asked Mary Beth Lohuis to make plans for a Catholic funeral in New York, which was conducted at the Church of Our Saviour, on March 26.

Ernest van den Haag's style of friendship was always aseptic, but the constancy of it radiated from him and made his friends lifelong. I am grateful that I unbuttoned sufficiently to say it to him in a letter a dozen years ago, in which I wrote to sympathize about his affliction to his eyesight. "I have been meaning to write to you for several months now, just a few brief words. What I suppose prompted this is your extraordinary fortitude respecting your eye-illness. One reads about brave people; less frequently, one comes upon them. But I wanted to say more than that I admire you for that. I wanted to tell you that in my lifetime I have not known so satisfying a companion, intellectually and psychologically. Our friendship, you know, is almost thirty-five years old. It is, I think, unmarked by any interruption. Your generosity, patience, and skill have always been at my disposal. For that, and for so much else, I have wished to record my thanks, ever affectionately."

May he rest in peace.

—WFB

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Why do otherwise educated people use phrases such as "women pilots"? For one thing, it's a double plural. For another, although "women" seems to be used as an adjective, such a use is not supported by the dictionary. The fact that this abusage has been around for a while (the Society of Women Engineers was founded in 1950) doesn't legitimize it, in my view.

I can think of no similar English construction.

Regards,
Charles F. Kyllonen
University Heights, Ohio

Dear Mr. Kyllonen: But sometimes, in English, you have to weigh alternatives. If your intention is to note that a pilot on a particular flight was nonmale, how would *you* do that? "A nonmale pilot"? "A female pilot"? "A pilot who was a woman"?

You see the problem.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I was taught to use "were" with "if" regardless of whether it was first, second, or third person.

I used the phrases "if I were" and "if it were" in some notes I was typing in Microsoft Word at work, and the computer's grammar check told me in both cases that I should have used "was."

Sincerely,
Lisa L. Whitfield
Kinston, N.C.

Dear Ms. Whitfield: Hard to *believe!* No wonder the U.S. government has mobilized against Microsoft. If it were otherwise, we would not be safe from its perversions.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: One of the most peculiar phrases I frequently see in print is the following: "Those people are no different than us."

To me, this is an utterly pointless statement! One person or thing may be different "from" another, but what is meant by "different than"?

Does this question resonate with you?

Sincerely,
Leonard C. Johnson
Moscow, Idaho

Dear Mr. Johnson: That is an oldie, the attempted proscription of "different than." We are not winning.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I am writing in regard to some comments you made in a column concerning our various cultural attitudes toward our war dead.

You mentioned that Francisco Franco made it known officially that the magnificent monument in the Valle de los Caidos was dedicated to the dead from both sides in the Spanish Civil War.

This is the current party line in Spain, since the socialists are in power, but somehow it gives me to doubt.

You will recall that to the right of the altar in that great edifice there is a small door giving access to the crypt where presumably 50,000 or more bodies are entombed. Over that door is inscribed, "Here pass those heroes who gave their lives for God and for Spain" (my approximate translation).

I doubt very much if any card-carrying, practicing atheist would approve of his being included in that group. Moreover, I do not think that Franco himself would have accepted that idea, regardless of what the propaganda line has been since his death. In my opinion, Francisco Franco was first of all a Catholic, second a Spaniard, third a soldier, and fourth a fascist. He may indeed have honored the Communists who died in the war, but that hardly seems consistent with his personality.

Cordially,
Jeff Cooper
Paulden, Ariz.

Dear Mr. Cooper: I'm sure you're correct about the precedents Franco was governed by. But the monument we are talking about was intended as a comprehensive memorial, in the spirit of Gettysburg. And remember, if Franco was primarily a man of God, it is hardly inconsistent that he should have done the Christian thing.

Cordially,

—WFB

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■ THE MIDDLE EAST ■

Priests of Killing

The Palestinians and the cult of death

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

THE Arab summit recently concluded in Beirut was a public farce, but alas not at all comic because it reflected so accurately the disarray of the Arab world. The participants were all either one-man rulers or their representatives, and their legitimacy rests solely on their military and security forces. All are engaged in a variety of power struggles among themselves. In the complexity of these deadly machinations, the rulers of Egypt, Iraq, and Jordan chose to stay away from Beirut, each giving specious excuses. The summit peaked when Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia called for normalization of relations with Israel. The Syrian one-man ruler and others quibbled about the meaning of normalization, but all signed up. They then pledged to give $480 million to Yasser Arafat to ensure that the intifada continues and there will be no normalization.

In the complete absence of democracy or any genuine representational factor, these encounters among one-man rulers and their representatives are highly personal, and sometimes emotional to the point of tearfulness. The stress is immense. The embracing, the professions of unity and friendship, mask wariness. A false move might cost anyone his life. To play safe, words and deeds have to be coded. The Arabs can't have normal relations with one another, never mind Israel.

At the moment when the summit was agreeing to pursue normalization with Israel, a Palestinian suicide bomber killed 22 Israelis and wounded over a hundred more. The victims were in a hotel in Netanya, a town on the Mediterranean coast, where they were celebrating Passover. Shortly before this atrocity, Arafat had gone on record as saying, "We would like to say to the Jews, Happy Passover." The Beirut summit took no notice of the Netanya atrocity.

Courtney Kealy/Getty

Palestinians dress their young

The summit also took no notice of Osama bin Laden, who is today the most popular of Arabs, and a revolutionary threat to every single one-man ruler. The participants tend to believe that the United States means at least some part of what it says, and will soon be doing whatever is necessary to counter the "axis of evil," but they cannot be sure of American resolution and are eager to take out as many insurance policies as possible.

There is open talk of regime change in Iraq. So Saddam Hussein's representative shook hands with a minor Kuwaiti prince. Amid more applause, the man from Baghdad stated that Iraq would now respect the independence, sovereignty, and security of Kuwait. What this choreographed scene means is that the United States can count on no Arab friends. The participants went on to pass a motion affirming that they "categorically reject a strike against Iraq and any threat against the security and territorial integrity of any Arab country," as this would "constitute a threat against the national security of all Arab countries." In plain language, they mean that they are more afraid of Saddam Hussein than of the United States.

The Arab states have brought their impasse with Israel on themselves. Israel is occupying Arab territory not out of imperialism but only because Arab armies attacked it from these territories in 1967. After that war, the Arab states resolved at an earlier disastrous summit not to recognize Israel, or to negotiate with it. But the obvious land-for-peace exchange was tantalizing, and there has been a peace process based on this prospect for the past 25 years, with success in the cases of Egypt and Jordan.

For the Palestinians, though, Yasser Arafat at the Camp David talks in 2000 concluded that he could obtain more through a campaign of violence. The intifada has a cycle of its own. A suicide bomber does his worst. The United States condemns it. No country, including Israel, endures casualties of this sort impassively. The government of Ariel Sharon has pressured Arafat to police his people, but this is futile, and so it resorts to force in self-defense. The United States is prone to condemn that too, and dispatches yet another mediator in a situation beyond mediation.

If this were a military struggle, Israel could win it quickly. More than that, here is a clash of incompatible cultures. Arabs and Muslims generally live in what anthropologists call a shame society, in which acquisition of honor and avoidance of shame are the key motivators. These values distort reality and oblige people to cancel out feelings of shame through heroics. Differ as they may on political approaches, Saddam, the Iranian ayatollahs, bin Laden, Arafat, and the Muslim extremist groups of Hamas and Islamic Jihad all

Mr. Pryce-Jones, an NR senior editor, is the author of *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs*, available from Ivan R. Dee.

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share a rhetoric arising from the need to acquire honor and avoid shame. Almost at the outset of his speech about normal relations with Israel, Crown Prince Abdullah was talking about Arab "humiliation."

Whether Israel handled the years of occupation well or badly is by now irrelevant. The phenomenon of suicide bombers has to be understood before it can be dealt with. Ghassan Khatib, a respected Palestinian intellectual in Jerusalem, conducts opinion polls. The latest findings indicate that three-quarters of the Palestinians approve of suicide bombers. Khatib says, "It's not a matter of religion or ideology, but politics." This is a Western-type analysis of actions that do not fit into any Western scheme of things. Japanese kamikaze pilots in the last war at least could calculate that they might take an American fighting ship with them. In reality mass-murderers of civilians, Palestinian suicide bombers have to see themselves primarily as rescuing honor.

Nasra Hassan is one enterprising journalist of Muslim origins who has interviewed would-be suicide bombers and their trainers, and Hala Jaber is another. Separately they have reported how would-be suicide bombers utter such key sentences as "Israel attacked my honor," and "Honor and dignity are very important in our culture. And when we are humiliated we respond with wrath." Or again the proud father of a 21-year-old suicide bomber explains how he brought his son up on stories of Israeli injustice, and then asks, "What do you expect from such a young person who grew up knowing all this, going through all this humiliation?"

The huge majority of suicide bombers to date have been members of Hamas, sponsored by Saudi Arabia, or of Islamic Jihad, sponsored by Iran. Lately Arafat loyalists from his so-called al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade—presumed to be secular nationalists—have become suicide bombers too. They share the shame-honor vocabulary of the Muslim extremists. As Nasra Hassan and Hala Jaber and others show, the bombers—like the September 11 terrorists—usually come from large and stable families, middle class, some of them relatively well off; and often they are university students or graduates who had aspirations to professional lives. The decision to become a suicide bomber was not the result of poverty or frustration, but grounded far more deeply in identity and culture.

The objective of those who recruit and train the bombers is to teach them to think of themselves not as potential suicides but as "sacred explosions," not mass-murderers of the innocent but martyrs. For that purpose, they must be brainwashed into believing that the West is afraid of its great enemy Islam, that Islamic Palestine will be liberated, and that they are God's willing instruments. Paradoxically, a certain intelligence helps to fortify faith. It may be suspected that the vision of the promised Paradise with its 72 black-eyed virgins is mere window-dressing. Would-be suicide bombers conform to a type, and they are virtually self-selecting, according to those who have come into contact with them.

As Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, head of Hamas, explains it, "Love of martyrdom is something deep in the heart." Another influential Hamas leader, Sheikh Hasan Yusuf in Ramallah, has observed of the bombers he trained, "We like to grow them from kindergarten through college." Weren't the Jesuits once supposed to have spoken like that? Islamic fanaticism and the need to wipe out perceived shame merge into a socio-religious frame of mind that sends these young men happily to their gruesome but devotional deaths. They have become priests of killing.

The cult of death cannot last indefinitely. No democratic government can be expected to accept the unremitting murder of the citizens for whom it is responsible. If Arafat is unable or unwilling to police the Palestinians, then Israel will have to do it for him, no matter what the consequences. Having identified the "axis of evil," the United States similarly has to police it, no matter what resolutions are passed at summits in Beirut or elsewhere. If these tasks prove too difficult or too unpopular to be carried through, then extremists of all sorts will conclude that the West really is afraid of Islam, and they will hold themselves honor-bound to redouble their attacks. What horrors might then happen is anyone's guess. **NR**

■ **FOREIGN POLICY** ■

Iran's Supplier . . .

. . . and our new ally: The problem of Russia

RICHARD LOWRY

WHAT'S the difference between "most likely" and "probably"? It may not seem like much, but in the precisely expressed National Intelligence Estimate—an occasional summary of the work of U.S. intelligence agencies—it can mean a lot. In 1999, the estimate said that the U.S. would "most likely" face a missile threat from North Korea, would "probably" face one from Iran, and would "possibly" face one from Iraq, all in the next 15 years. In March, CIA official Robert Walpole told Congress that Iran had caught up to North Korea and joined it in the "most likely" category—a quantum jump in Iran's potential threat to the U.S.

Walpole wouldn't say in his open testimony what accounted for Iran's overachieving, but it isn't particularly hard to guess one reason. The Iranian missile program might as well be stamped "From Russia, with love." A week after Walpole's testimony, CIA director George Tenet told Congress that Russia is the "first choice" of rogue states "seeking the most advanced technology and training." According to Tenet, "Russia continues to supply significant assistance on nearly all aspects of Tehran's nuclear program. It is also providing Iran assistance on long-range ballistic-missile programs."

In other words, Russia is conspiring with Iran to create perhaps the most dire looming missile and nuclear threat to the United States and its allies. Everything that the U.S. has said recently about Iraq and weapons of mass destruction applies with equal—perhaps more—force to Iran, a larger country than Iraq that is more directly involved in terrorism. Since Sept. 11, it has been a commonplace to say Russia

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has "joined the West." Maybe it has, but if so, it is on the model of West Germany in the 1980s, which blissfully provided the assistance necessary for Iraq to come close to a nuclear capability by the time of the Persian Gulf War in 1991.

Russia's role as the supplier of choice to a charter member of the "axis of evil" should no longer be an afterthought in the U.S.-Russia relationship. Instead, the U.S. should use the considerable diplomatic and economic tools at its disposal to convince the Russians to pull back on their weapons assistance to Tehran. But between Russian intransigence as a matter of policy and the difficulty of controlling the renegade Russian military-industrial establishment as a matter of practice, Iran's weapons drive may be unstoppable. Ultimately, the U.S. needs to think in terms, not just of preventing, but of defending against and possibly preempting the Iranian threat.

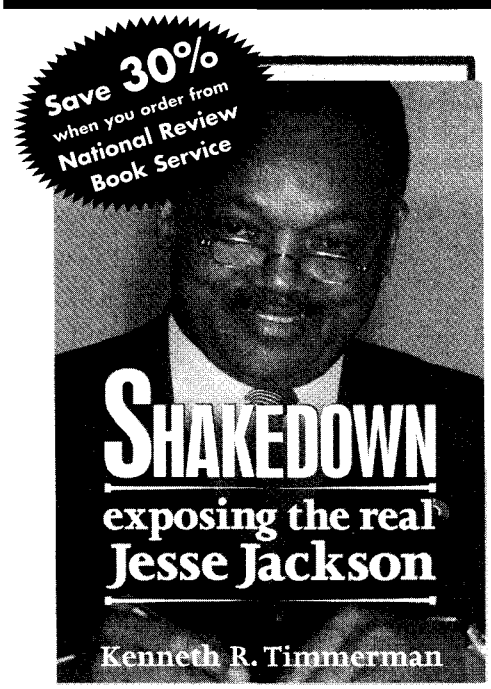
According to Walpole, Iran is likely to "establish a technical base from which it could develop ICBMs or intermediate-range ballistic missiles, capable of delivering nuclear weapons to Western Europe and the United States." All U.S. intelligence agencies think Iran could possibly attempt to build an ICBM by about mid decade, and could have a nuclear weapon by the end of the decade. (The Israeli assessment is more dire, estimating that Iran will have a nuclear capability by 2005.) But these timelines could be shortened with significant foreign assistance.

Enter Russia. Iranian officials seemed to spend most of 2001 signing arms agreements with the Russians, inking deals worth several billion dollars. Russian assistance hurried the development of Iran's current medium-range missile arsenal. And Tehran couldn't develop the longer-range missiles it now seeks—the already-tested Shahab-3, capable of reaching Israel, Turkey, and Egypt, and more advanced follow-ons perhaps capable of reaching the U.S.—without North Korean and Russian help. Meanwhile, Iran has an $800 million contract with Russia to build a light-water nuclear reactor in Bushehr.

Since Russia and Iran have traditionally not been cozy, this seems an unlikely relationship. But, as Ariel Cohen of the Heritage Foundation says, "proliferation makes strange bedfellows." Iran is one of the most important sources of cash for the Russian defense industry. And for the old Cold Warriors in the Russian security establishment, anything that increases the power of enemies of the United States is a good thing. Also, Iran has helpfully minimized its complaints about Russia's brutal campaign against Muslim separatists in Chechnya. Finally, Russia has—perhaps short-sightedly—never been as uptight about proliferation as the U.S., and defends Iran's right to "peaceful" atomic power.

"Peaceful" atomic power, however, is a chimera. A nuclear bomb technically isn't that difficult to build. The key is acquiring the necessary fissile material. Iran could try to steal it or buy it on the black market, or simply make its own.

JESSE JACKSON
EXPOSED!



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The Bushehr reactor is scheduled to be finished by 2003. Russia says it will take back from Iran the reactor's plutonium-laden spent fuel, but there's no guarantee that Iran won't divert the plutonium to its own purposes.

Russia has so far been mostly unmoved by U.S. complaints over Bushehr. It argues that if it stops building the plant, a European country will only fill the breach. There's something to be said for this argument, unfortunately. Russia can also point to the uncomfortable fact that the United States itself has agreed to build not just one, but *two* light-water reactors for North Korea, as part of a deal Pyongyang extorted from the Clinton administration.

The U.S.-North Korean deal is premised on the myth that light-water reactors—in contrast to heavy-water reactors—are inappropriate for making weapons. But it's not so. According to *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, a light-water reactor "would routinely discharge in spent fuel as much as a few hundred kilograms of plutonium each year. If the fuel burn up was reduced, perhaps during a national security crisis, the reactor could produce significant quantities of weapons-grade plutonium." The starkest question, as Ariel Cohen points out, is why Iran needs a nuclear program for energy anyway, since it has more natural gas than it knows what to do with.

Russia and Iran constantly invoke the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), under whose purview Bushehr will operate, as a guarantor of Iran's purity. But the IAEA practically exists to be outwitted by aspiring nuclear powers, which sign on to the Non-Proliferation Treaty precisely to get the technology that would otherwise be forbidden to them. This was Iraq's strategy in the '70s and '80s. Iran is simply duplicating it. An official close to "supreme leader" Ali Khamenei said in a candid moment: "The reason that Iran becomes a signatory to international conventions is to pave the way for access to modern technology which developed countries have made commitments to provide."

It is little comfort that IAEA is on the scene. As Iran analyst Kenneth Timmerman argues, intent is the key factor in determining whether a government will use its "peaceful" nuclear program to pursue a weapon. But intent is something the IAEA can never determine with enough objective certainty to justify a crackdown on a country's nuclear program, which is why Iraq and North Korea were able to doublecross it. As for inspections, they are cooperative, meaning the agency will almost never find something a country is determined to hide.

AFP/Corbis

The Russian president meets his Iranian counterpart, September 2000

Iran will inevitably have something to hide. There is no split in the government over security policy, as the "moderates" support pursuing nukes too. The weapons nicely fit the aggressively anti-Western and anti-Israeli vision at the regime's heart. Hashemi Rafsanjani, the powerful chairman of Iran's Guidance Council, has talked of "the elimination of the Israel problem with the use of one nuclear bomb." Since Hezbollah is an Iranian production, an Iranian nuke would not just be an "Islamic bomb," but potentially a "Hezbollah bomb," its deterrent effect leveraged on behalf of Islamic terrorists.

For Russia, "joining the West" should mean not helping this process along. The Clinton administration was temperamentally incapable of getting tough with the Russians. President Bush shouldn't be so polite. Raising the volume on the issue is important, since Russia has occasionally been embarrassed into backing out of Iran deals, and the U.S. has economic leverage over Russia, some of it directly touching on the unruly Russian missile and nuclear sectors: commercial space launches, deals for the U.S. to buy back Russian uranium, etc.

In the new international environment defined by a U.S. war on terror, Iran should be near the top of the agenda between the U.S. and Russia, displacing what are now less-pressing concerns such as NATO enlargement. But there are limits to America's influence on Russia, especially if our main levers are economic. As Michael Eisenstadt of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy argues, since Moscow sells arms and technology to Tehran not just to make money but "to advance important security interests, Russia seems unlikely to halt its transfers in response to economic sanctions."

This doesn't mean that the U.S. should abandon its push, by any means possible, to stifle Iran's weapons programs. "The U.S. has succeeded in imposing significant costs and delays on Iran's efforts," Eisenstadt writes, "through such traditional tools as export controls, demarches, arm-twisting, and economic sanctions." But, in the end, trying to keep weapons technology from Iran is a little like trying to keep heroin out of New York City—where there's demand, there will be supply.

The U.S. has to plan to nullify the coming Iranian threat as much as possible with its own capabilities, including a missile defense (which looks more important to our ally Israel than ever) and an ability to preemptively attack in a crisis (see my "The Nukes We Need," March 25). And it must begin to address the root of the problem, which is less loose technology controls than the nature of the Tehran regime itself. Ultimately, the best U.S. nonproliferation policy is working to topple the mullahs who seek the weapons in the first place. **NR**

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■ PUBLIC POLICY ■

May We Get Serious Now?

Controlling our borders, at long last

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

FOR many years the editorial page of the *Wall Street Journal* has been waging a vigorous crusade in behalf of unlimited immigration. Over the last 40 years, though, opinion polls have shown that an overwhelming majority of Americans oppose an increase in the level of immigration—so the pro-immigration forces have sought to keep the issue off the political agenda. They have presented immigration as so economically desirable and politically inevitable that only innumerates, fools, and bigots could possibly oppose it; anyone who did so was promptly declared "out of the mainstream." Meanwhile, immigrants—legal and illegal—continued to flow in, unimpeded, at a rate of up to 1.5 million new entrants a year.

September 11 changed all that. Given that the hijackers were all immigrants, common sense suggested that this might indicate some failure of immigration law; legislation to tighten up border security was surely required.

That legislation duly arrived before the House of Representatives recently in the form of the Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Bill. Most of it is uncontroversial and consists of measures most people regard as necessary to strengthen America's security against further terrorism—for instance, sharing information among intelligence agencies and tightening up our inadequate visa-screening practices. (No more visas for dead terrorists would be a start; over time, we could even insist on no more visas for live ones.) Yet this measure was stopped procedurally in the Senate (by Robert Byrd) because a provision that actually undermined security had been attached to it.

This provision—245(i) of the immigration law—would allow immigrants, legal and illegal, who have employer or family sponsors to remain in the U.S. while they seek a "green card" rather than have to return to their homelands and apply for U.S. residency from there. More than 200,000 people are thought to be covered by this legislation. But its impact on immigration would be far greater than the raw numbers suggest, since every person who obtained resident alien status and in due course citizenship would then be entitled to bring in his family members. Indeed, President Bush supports 245(i) on the grounds that it represents "family values." That is true, of course, but the family-values argument cuts both ways: Existing law would reunite those immigrants with their families abroad. Yet what does either argument have to do with enhancing national security?

Let us therefore return to the main question: Why is 245(i) inconsistent with the remainder of the bill? The bill's entire rationale assumes—with vast justification—that the existing arrangements for border security and visa control are wholly inadequate. It is very likely therefore that those who entered the country under them include terrorists, criminals, and other undesirables. If we simply allow them to remain in the U.S. undisturbed while they seek permanent residency, we are undermining the tighter security the bill is supposed to advance. It would be much more consistent with the bill's intention to compel them to apply from abroad—where they would have to undergo a serious examination of their claims at a U.S. consulate.

Admittedly, not all aliens presumptively covered by 245(i) would obligingly depart if the bill were to pass without it. But we would then reasonably suspect that those who stayed calculated that they would not survive examination at the consulate. And on the face of it, that would be an additional reason for thinking that they should not be allowed to remain in the U.S. Such arguments, at any rate, persuaded the waverers: Despite strong support for 245(i) from

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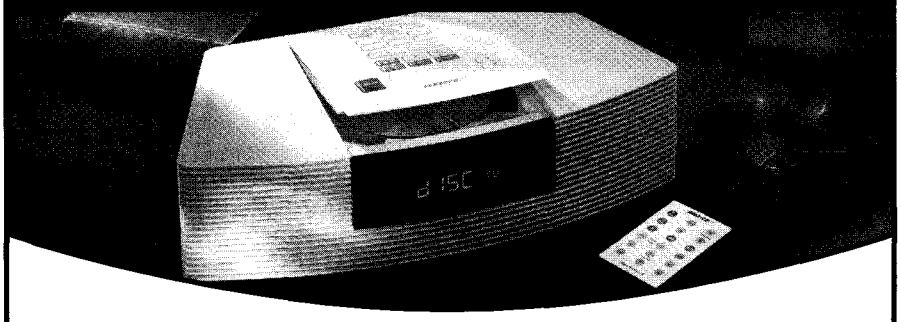

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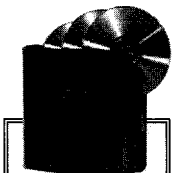

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the White House and the GOP House leadership, the majority of House Republicans voted against it. The House immigration-reform caucus, chaired by Colorado Republican Tom Tancredo, suddenly became a fashionable hangout. The GOP grassroots kept congressional phones ringing in opposition to the measure. Organizations such as the American Conservative Union, which have hitherto held themselves aloof from immigration issues, came down firmly against it. And Sen. Byrd, denouncing it as "lunacy," temporarily halted the train. Moreover, because 245(i) was widely seen as a stalking horse for the administration's plan for a wider immigration amnesty that would legalize the status of 3 million Mexican illegals, this had the makings of a larger political crisis, one that threatened to derail the bipartisan policy of virtually uncontrolled immigration.

At which the point the *Wall Street Journal* rode to the rescue, with editorials on March 18 and 28. Their apparent basic argument was that border security is essential, that the entire bill should therefore be supported enthusiastically, and finally that Byrd, along with Tancredo and other "anti-immigrant" Republicans, is to be condemned for standing in the way of enhancing national security by objecting to the 245(i) provision. Even as a basic argument, however, this sounds odd. The *Journal* has editorialized in favor of "open borders," and has never formally retracted this view; but from an "open borders" perspective, there is no particular need to enhance border security. If the *Journal* has now abandoned any sympathy for open borders and embraced border security wholesale, then it should logically want to close past security loopholes (and catch those who ran through them).

Of course, the *Journal*'s main purpose in these two editorial statements was not to enhance border security at all, but to protect existing high levels of immigration against any impulse to reduce or restrict them following September 11. In that cause, it employed a series of arguments that would scarcely pass logical muster in a drunken brawl.

To begin with, it denounced Robert Byrd for delaying the enhancement of national security. Nothing wrong with attacking Byrd of course; it should be done regularly, preferably in song and verse as at the recent Gridiron Club dinner. But the *Journal*'s attack risked giving the senator a good name. It asserted that he opposes the entire bill, even without the 245(i) provision, out of a desire for revenge—because the president blocked his proposal to add $20 billion in "pork" to a homeland-defense bill last year. In short order, the replies are: (a) Byrd now says he would support the bill without the extra provision—so call his bluff, if bluff it is; (b) Byrd's $20 billion for homeland defense may indeed have come from a notorious addict of "pork," but the *Journal*'s concern for border security comes from a notorious addict of open borders—is that, too, insincere?; and (c) other Democrats, notably California senator Dianne Feinstein, have announced that they too will seek to block the border-security bill unless the counterproductive provision is removed.

■

How many terrorists might benefit from 245(i)? We don't know.

■

So much for the philippic against Byrd himself. The *Journal*'s second line of attack is to denounce conservatives for climbing "into bed with" Byrd. But on immigration in general, and on 245(i) in particular, the *Journal* itself is in bed with the AFL-CIO, ethnic-grievance lobbies such as La Raza and MALDEF, and the entire Democratic establishment headed by Sen. Tom Daschle and Rep. Dick Gephardt—indeed it has been in bed with them for so long that it must have stocked up on vast supplies of political Viagra. On both sides of the immigration argument, there are coalitions of unlikely bedfellows—which is not necessarily wicked; as Churchill remarked when he was similarly taxed, he never believed in inquiring into the motives of those who voted alongside him, as long as his own motives were decent.

A third argument is more subtle: It suggests that the 245(i) provision assists only legal immigrants. One editorial said that its beneficiaries had "entered the U.S. legally," and the other that "they entered the country legally and hold a visa that has either expired or is about to." In other words, they are *in* America illegally (or "about" to be). One of the most common methods of illegal immigration into the U.S. is to overstay a visa. Nor is this usually accidental or unpremeditated; many calculate that they will be able to escape the notice of the authorities and, in time, benefit from the amnesties that come down the pike every 15 years or so.

The *Journal* objects to calling 245(i) an amnesty, on the grounds that its beneficiaries have done nothing wrong. But overstaying a visa is a wrong and, if premeditated, a serious one from the standpoint of immigration law and border security. And to allow such illegal immigrants to stay in the U.S., effectively jumping ahead of law-abiding would-be immigrants in the entry line, because they have acquired an employer or a spouse during their sojourn, is a form of amnesty. Nor do amnesties benefit solely those immigrants of whom we might approve. As Michelle Malkin noted in a trenchant column, "at least one al-Qaeda-linked operative, convicted in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing plot, obtained amnesty through a program intended for farm workers." How many terrorists might benefit from 245(i)? We don't know. How many Americans might not get jobs because 245(i) allows some genuinely hard-working immigrants to stay? Again, we don't know; maybe very few, if the rates of pay are low because the illegal immigrants can't really complain about them. But these doubts are surely reasons for cautious checking of potential fellow citizens and next-door neighbors rather than for welcoming them with open arms and porous borders, and then learning late in the day that they are not what they said on their application forms.

Of course, as immigration analyst Mark Krikorian has pointed out in these pages, any really serious checking of potential Americans can only be implemented when the INS (however reformed) has a lighter workload. And that would require a reduction in immigration, legal and illegal, to manageable (and, by happy coincidence, readily assimilable) numbers. What would it take for the *Journal* to accept that? An invasion of English-speaking editorial writers willing to work for starvation wages? **NR**

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Terror in Israel – and in the World

Is "peace" possible under present conditions?

The news brings us daily ever more gruesome stories of the bloodlust of the Palestinians, whose suicide thugs kill and maim hundreds and who lob mortars and missiles into Israeli neighborhoods. Preferred targets of those massacres are children and teenagers. Is "peace" possible with a people who perform and condone such outrageous acts?

What are the facts?

A history of terror: Arab-Muslim terror in Israel has been going on for a very long time. Pogroms have been perpetrated on the Jewish population for almost 100 years, one of the most egregious being the carnage in Hebron in 1929, in which the Arabs killed 129 Jews and grievously wounded and maimed 399, many of them women and children. The current outrages have acquired new bloody dimensions because of the introduction of the "suicide martyrs" and because of the weapons that the Palestinians have been able to smuggle into their territory and those that the Israelis have foolishly provided to them.

Our country has risen in justified outrage and has gone to war to pursue those who have inflicted 4,000 casualties on us. Israel has one-fiftieth of the population of the United States. The about 500 Jews who have been killed by the Palestinians in the past eighteen months corresponds to about 25,000 killed in the United States. Would the American people stand still for that?

Of course not! How much forbearance does the world expect before Israel lashes out and inflicts terrible punishment on its tormentors? These are the same people who have blown up the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires, the Jewish Community Center in the same city, and the Israeli Embassy in London. Hundreds of people were killed. There can be no question that they were also behind the PanAm flight 103 plane explosion which killed 270 people, mostly Americans; that they were responsible for the blowing up of the Air Force barracks in Saudi Arabia, in which 19 Air Force personnel died; and in literally hundreds of other acts of terror. All of these terror acts are specifically authorized by Yassir Arafat. That is a man who until not too long ago was classified as an international terrorist by the U.S. State Department. That he has received the Nobel Peace Price must be considered a cosmic joke.

> " Israel should respond harshly to any further provocations and should not enter into any further negotiations with the Palestine Authority and with Yassir Arafat – a blood-stained terrorist. "

Any pretext suffices. The basic understanding with Arafat and his Palestinian Arabs was that terror and mayhem would stop after the signing of the Oslo Agreement. That has not happened. On the contrary, more Jews have been killed by terror attacks since the famous handshake between the late Prime Minister Yitzchak Rabin and Yassir Arafat than in any comparable period before it. Arafat and the "Palestinian Authority" do nothing to stop this slaughter; on the contrary, they actively encourage their followers to use violence to accomplish their ends. In blood-curdling speeches, Arafat and his henchman goad their followers into violence, urging them to "liberate Palestine by jihad (holy war) with blood and with fire."

The current rampage was supposedly triggered by Mr. Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount. And why shouldn't he visit the Temple Mount? It's in Israel,isn't it? The Arabs-Muslims can visit any place in Israel, without anybody standing in their way. Were it not for that freedom, there would be no suicide bombers. The dreadful acts of slaughter are committed because of the undying hatred of the Jews, a hatred that permeates the Muslim world. The purpose is to kill and maim as many Jews as possible.

And that is the nub of the problem. Only the most naïve can any longer believe that the Palestinian Arabs (or the rest of the Arab-Muslim world) can be placated by the Israelis bringing further "sacrifices for peace." The Arabs will not be satisfied with any piece of land. Even if the Israeli Jews were prepared to hand over the entire land of Israel to the Arabs and only retain perhaps, the enclave of Tel Aviv, it would not suffice. The elimination of any Jewish vestige is the inalterable goal.

The presence of Jews in the Middle East is an unacceptable thorn in the side of the Arabs – an insult that must be avenged and eliminated. But, of course, no peace can come about until that attitude and mindset change. And that may take a very long time.

Regardless of what other proposals may be put on the table by well-meaning (and sometimes not so well-meaning) third parties, the Palestinians having their own governance and living side by side with Israel in harmony and co-prosperity is simply not possible at the present time. Former prime minister Ehud Barak, under the insistent pressure of former president Clinton, offered breathtaking concessions to the Palestinians, concessions that would have fulfilled virtually all of their stated aspirations, including even the de facto partition of Jerusalem. But Mr. Arafat haughtily rejected them and unleashed his bloody intifada instead. Israel should respond harshly to any further provocations and should not enter into any further negotiations with the Palestine Authority and with Yassir Arafat, because he is not a nation builder but a blood-stainedterrorist, the perfect counterpart to Osama bin Laden. Nobody, not the United States, nor any other country, nor the United Nations should be the arbiter of Israel's destiny. Only Israel should determine whether its national rights and its security requirements are being honored and fulfilled. Only then, and not before, should Israel be prepared to continue any negotiations with the Palestinian Arabs and, hopefully, not with Arafat, but with a more enlightened successor.

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■ POLITICS ■

The Un-New Democrat

Fritz Hollings: regulator, protectionist, and *still* the junior senator

RAMESH PONNURU

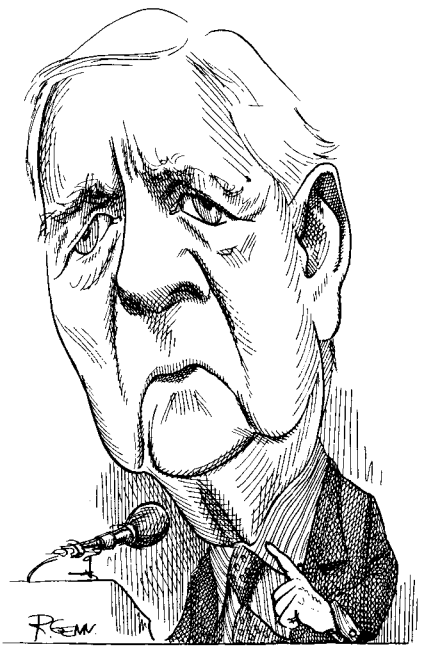
TODAY'S Democratic party is supposed to have made peace with the market. Modern Democrats favor free trade and technological development. They are friendly to Silicon Valley. High-tech executives, in turn, look kindly on the Democrats. In 2000, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, individuals associated with computer and Internet firms gave $40 million to politicians. Slightly more than half went to Democrats.

Unfortunately for the techies, some Democrats are not following the new program. Even more unfortunately, one of these Democrats is the chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee. South Carolina's Ernest "Fritz" Hollings is a proud protectionist, an eager regulator, and a steadfast ally of the trial lawyers. To the extent that the high-tech industry supported Democrats, it helped Hollings get his chairmanship. He is now returning the favor by stiffing the industry's agenda. When the Information Technology Industry Council gave out its most recent ratings, most senators scored above 80 percent. Hollings came in dead last, at 45 percent.

The 80-year-old senator is generally indulged, seen as a colorful character at best or a harmless joke at worst. When he gets in the news, it is often because of some outrageous remark. In 1993 Hollings explained why African "potentates" went to international conferences: "Rather than eating each other, they'd just come up and get a good square meal in Geneva." His candor, or maybe just his nastiness, lets him say things that his colleagues do not—such as that Strom Thurmond, the man who has made Hollings the longest-serving junior senator in history, is "not mentally keen" and is using the Senate as a "nursing home." Hollings dispenses with a lot of the contemporary politician's cant. In his last campaign, he said his Republican opponent was "a goddamned skunk" who could "kiss my fanny."

But Hollings is not merely a character. He is a tough and persistent fighter for his positions, and he is in a position to do real damage to the economy.

Hollings has elevated his dedication to protectionism, pork, and the tort bar to high principle. He has voted against almost every free-trade deal that has come before Congress: against NAFTA in 1993, against the global free-trade bill in 1994, against free trade with Africa and the Caribbean in 1999, against normal trade relations with China in 2000. He has not yet announced a position on the pending legislation to let the president negotiate future trade deals, but his website describes similar laws as "not only unwise but unconstitutional." His position on trade reflects that of his state's textile lobby, but he is also clearly a protectionist by conviction. Whatever his motives, Hollings is a chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee who is hostile to international commerce.



Sen. Fritz Hollings by Roman Genn

Hollings also backs every bill that would generate more work for the trial lawyers, from the "patient's bill of rights" to a new "passenger's bill of rights" that would, for example, create an actionable right for passengers with allergies not to be in the presence of peanuts. In 1999, he opposed even the bill to protect the high-tech industry from liability for Y2K-related problems.

In addition to voting against the interests of the tech sector, Hollings has denigrated its importance. He considers manufacturing far more vital to the economy and worries about the alleged erosion of our manufacturing base. During the debate over trade with China, he said that he would rather have BMW employing people in South Carolina than Oracle or Microsoft.

Hollings's chairmanship comes at the worst possible time for techies. They are still struggling to get out from a sectoral depression that has entailed widespread layoffs and bankruptcies. The political climate in Washington has also turned decidedly pro-regulation. From force of habit, the government is applying to new technologies regulatory models that were initially developed for other industries. Internet taxes are a good example. The old sales-tax system, in which states tried to tax consumers, has proven unenforceable for e-commerce. But the states are unwilling to rethink their tax structures. So Congress is likely to respond to their predicament by giving them greater powers to enforce their current tax codes. Hollings, of course, supports the expansion of state tax authority.

He is also playing a key role on two bills that affect technology companies. The senator is blocking a bill that would make it possible for more people and businesses to enjoy high-speed Internet ("broadband") connections. And he is the sponsor of another bill that would impose draconian regulations on digital devices in order to protect copyrights.

The first bill, sponsored in the House by Louisiana Republican Billy Tauzin and Michigan Democrat John Dingell, is designed to correct a flaw in the Telecommunications Act that Hollings got passed in 1996. That act was an

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attempt to have government-managed competition. It allowed local telephone companies, also called the "baby Bells," to build lines for high-speed Internet connections—but only if they let competitors use the lines, and at a discounted rate.

The rationale was that the baby Bells had a monopoly over local telephone service and should not be allowed to use that established monopoly to gain market share in the new broadband market. The practical result is that the baby Bells have had no incentive to build the new lines and have therefore largely declined to do so. Cable companies have been active in the broadband market, but lack of competition has stunted that market's development.

The Tauzin-Dingell bill would loosen the restrictions on the Bells so that they would have an incentive to build broadband lines. Many techies have maintained that the bill is key to a sectoral recovery. Whether or not that's true, the potential benefits of letting this market develop are credibly estimated to be in the hundreds of billions of dollars. Tauzin-Dingell passed the House comfortably.

But Hollings says it's "dead on arrival" in the Senate. He's still worried about the Bells' market power—even though they have not had legally protected monopolies for almost 20 years, and even though the cable companies would be competitors if the Bells got in. Hollings is so concerned about imagined Bell monopolies, he wants to break up these companies—an idea two analysts at the libertarian Cato Institute say "would set back telecommunications policy 20 years and constitute possibly the most radical, proregulatory measure to come along for any American industry in decades."

While Hollings's position is unreasonable, he may succeed in blocking reform. So far, nobody in the Senate is taking him on. The ranking Republican on the Commerce Committee, John McCain, used to be the Senate's leading advocate of telecom deregulation. He fought Hollings on the 1996 act, and in 1999 he sponsored legislation that went much further than Tauzin-Dingell. Now McCain has switched sides, echoing Hollings's concerns about monopolies.

Concerned as they are about Hollings's position on broadband, high-tech companies are likely to be even more upset by his copyright-protection bill. That bill is a favor to the entertainment industry, which is Hollings's second largest source of campaign cash (after lawyers). What it would do is mandate that computers, CD players, and DVD players—and any other device that can play or record digital information—be unable to duplicate copyrighted material. The manufacture, import, or sale of machines that can perform such duplication would be illegal.

The bill is backed by Disney, the Recording Industry Association of America, the Motion Picture Association of America, and Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation. Their worry that the work they produce will be pirated is understandable. But Hollywood had similar worries about the VCR when it was invented, and the response was not to prohibit VCRs or to impose federal technology mandates on them. Eventually, Hollywood figured out how to make money from the new technology by adjusting their business model—which is what they should do now, too.

The Hollings bill is sweeping: It would make it illegal for the owner of a CD to copy it for his own use. It is a break with precedent, since we have not heretofore insisted that consumer technology be government-approved. It imposes costs on technology manufacturers unfairly. (It's not their fault that the music industry makes CDs that are easy to copy.) It's also insulting: The entertainment industry is treating its customers as presumptive criminals.

In sum, Hollings is beholden to anti-technology interests. He fears new technologies that threaten those interests. He opposes legislation that would allow for technological development. And he sets back free trade more effectively than all the rioters in Seattle put together.

When tech companies help Democrats get elected to the Senate, they are working to keep Hollings as chairman of the Commerce Committee. If they keep it up, they'll deserve what they get. **NR**

■ **EDUCATION** ■

The Six-Year Plan

How students linger on campus and universities stiff the taxpayer

KATE O'BEIRNE

THE jubilant high-school senior dances up the path from his mailbox calling out, "Mom, I got in!" The TV ad's heart-warming tag line boasts, "The next four years, brought to you by the United States Postal Service."

This month's college acceptance letters might be arriving on time, but the USPS's message is badly outdated. The odds are that students heading off to public colleges and universities in the fall will spend six years earning their degrees. On average nowadays, only about 30 percent of students at public institutions graduate in four years.

When the NCAA reports graduation rates to compare the performance of athletes with that of other students, it now relies on the six-year rate as the standard. Thus, 43 percent of Indiana University's basketball players graduate in six years (versus 65 percent of all male students). "The four-year graduation rate is scandalous," declares Eugene W. Hickok, who as undersecretary of the Department of Education is the third-ranking official in that federal agency. Hickok explains that the cost to states is "enormous," and criticizes the lack of attention to the scandal: "However frustrated we might be over accountability in K through 12, at least the conversation is taking place." During his six years as Pennsylvania's education secretary, this reform-minded great-great-nephew of "Wild Bill" Hickok started plenty of unwelcome conversations with the state's higher-education officials—and engaged in a real shootout with them over an innovative grant program designed to address the problem of students' dawdling through six years of college.

Graduating from a public college in four years has gone the way of coeds in

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bobbysocks. This is the result of a lax system run by administrators happy to take the extra funds that come with having students hanging around for five or six years, and eager to admit students who aren't prepared to do college-level work. Also, professors often aren't willing to teach students the basic courses they need to graduate in four years, and would rather host seminars on trendy, idiosyncratic pseudo-scholarship. The bottom line is that students incur extra years of debt and miss out on earnings that would come from getting a real job sooner—while taxpayers foot the bill through loan subsidies and tuition grants.

According to a 1996 federal survey, 65 percent of students at private colleges manage to graduate in four years, while only 34 percent of public-college students do. "Too often, four-year programs turn into five-year sessions—or more," then Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge said. "That's not good for our students or for taxpayers." The state offered $6 million in bonus payments to Pennsylvania colleges that graduated more than 40 percent of their in-state students in four years; in 2001, the first year of the program, not a single public institution qualified for the reward. (Sixty-five private Pennsylvania colleges received the bonus payments.)

Only one public university even bothered to respond to a request to submit its graduation rates; but when the bonuses were awarded, they squawked. The *Chronicle of Higher Education* aired complaints from public-college officials about the bonuses; they insisted that their students were more disadvantaged, and more likely to work during school, than students in private colleges. But Hickok notes that a high percentage of students at private schools hold down jobs—and points out that the students themselves rebutted the officials' excuses by blaming their inability to graduate in four years not on the demands of working, but on the difficulty of scheduling the courses they needed for graduation.

In Colorado, Republican Gov. Bill Owens is also trying to boost the four-year graduation rate in his state's public colleges, and he highlights a significant difference between public and private institutions to explain the disparate performances: "Without the public subsidy, the pain of every year's tuition is greater." Colleges with higher tuition rates do have higher graduation rates. According to a report in the University of Michigan newspaper, "The 15 highest graduation rates belong to private institutions with annual tuition of at least $23,000."

Owens has bucked Colorado's academic establishment and introduced a system of performance funding for the state's higher-ed institutions. Higher-education czar Tim Foster—who, according to Owens, has the "toughest job in state government"—quickly shoots down the most typical excuse public-college officials offer to explain their undergraduates' lengthy stays on campus: He points out that public- and private-college students participate in the state's work-study programs in roughly equal numbers.

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Graduation in four years has gone the way of coeds in bobbysocks.

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Under Colorado's new performance standards, public colleges will receive increased funding if they meet certain criteria, including increasing their four-year graduation rate (currently 24 percent) and their retention rate for freshmen, and ensuring that required courses are available to students. (Foster reports that to satisfy state overseers, one school had to add 40 sections of a basic required freshman course.)

Foster also wants to see four-year colleges get out of the business of offering remedial courses to unprepared undergraduates: Colorado now demands assessments for freshmen, with community colleges responsible for any needed remedial courses. In a 1999 report, the Department of Education found that nationwide, 45 percent of college students took at least one remedial course. Over 80 percent of four-year colleges currently offer remedial courses, but with college administrators howling about the costs of providing these make-up classes, a number of states have adopted reforms like Colorado's—and expect to see students increase their time spent on college-level work.

The declining standards for college admission are also partly to blame for the longer time undergraduates are spending earning degrees. The *Chronicle of Higher Education* recently reported on the firing of a tenured math professor at Philadelphia's Temple University who refused to adapt to the current crop of unprepared college students. The 34-year veteran, who was known to write "junk" and "this is nonsense" on students' quizzes, complained that the university was admitting undergraduates who couldn't add or subtract. Only 44 percent of Temple students graduate even in *six* years, and—also according to the *Chronicle*—in a national survey, "Temple undergraduates reported spending more time relaxing and less time studying than the national average."

By adopting a leisurely pace of study on the taxpayer's dime, undergraduates are driving up costs—and taking up space. The University of Texas at Austin has a four-year graduation rate of 32 percent. Last November, the president of the student body told the *Chronicle* that "Austin is an incredible place to live. There's so much going on outside of the academic arena that students just like to stay here as long as they can." It's estimated that the University of Texas, which has 50,000 students, could accommodate 1,000 more if students took two more credit hours a semester. The director of the university's office of student financial services estimates that an additional year of college costs students about $51,000 in additional (subsidized) loans and lost income.

And it's not just sybaritic students who are insisting on longer college stays. Owens relates that the national association of certified public accountants—in an effort to shrink their ranks and thus raise their incomes—has convinced all but a few states to demand an extra year of college for accounting majors, although the additional semesters need not include study in any accounting-related field. Here's Owens's response to the costly request: "Hell, no."

He has an ally in Eugene Hickok. In early February, the Bush administration released a draft of a "strategic plan" that includes policy goals for improving post-secondary education. The draft plan intends to monitor college graduation rates, and appoint a group to examine rising college costs. A *Chronicle* headline declared, "Colleges Catch a Glimpse of Bush Policy on Higher Education, and Aren't Pleased." Hickok's distinguished ancestor would be proud. **NR**

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Phony War

The president's policy does not comport with the valor and sacrifice of his troops

MARK HELPRIN

If bin Laden is alive, he may believe that, since September 11, the United States has become more vulnerable to terrorists, to rising states, and to new coalitions that see in America's careless delusions about its powers and prospects an irresistible opening for their own. And if he did believe such a thing, he would be right, though not for the first time, as you may recall.

It was he, after all, who watched for decades as this country was urged to strike at terrorists and the regimes that sustained them, and did not; as it was warned of Muslim religious fanatics piloting jets into its tallest buildings, and did nothing; as it suffered attacks upon its aviation, embassies, navy, and greatest city, and answered not by acts of war but in torrents of language, and gobbledygook at that.

But then in a month, and with fewer casualties than on a bad weekend in Houston, we subdued a country where the Soviets could make no headway in ten years, and quickly jumped to the conclusion that we now possess a revolutionary form of military power that we can direct wherever we please. We have been told, and we accept, that as we develop this wondrous power, spending as much for defense as the rest of the world combined, we should be content that our government is responding appropriately to the attacks of September 11 and making adequate preparation in regard to dangers to come. Would that this were so. It is not.

A ROUT IN AFGHANISTAN

Despite its brilliant execution, the campaign in Afghanistan was peripheral and on a minor scale. With the support or acquiescence of virtually every nation in the world, the United States went in on the side of one of two exhausted combatants locked in stalemate in open country devastated by years of war and starvation. The enemy fought without allies, supply, modern weapons, communications, intelligence, cover, or control of the air. With a few thousand soldiers on the ground and an unchallenged fleet offshore, the United States was following the pattern established by Britain during its domination of much of the Middle East in the 19th century. But whereas Britain did its enemies the honor of striking at their hearts, we have not. Borrowing from Churchill's assessment of Mussolini and Ciano, the organ grinders of terrorism are Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Syria, and bin Laden is merely the monkey.

Afghanistan is obviously of little importance in comparison with those states that have supported terrorists *ab initio* and that, variously, control great wealth, territory, resources, or mass (Iran's population is greater than that of Britain, France, Spain, or Italy); have influential allies and trading partners; possess biological, chemical, and/or nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them; and marshal large armies, sometimes with the most modern Western armament.

If a great power such as the United States suffers a savage and destructive attack against its chief city, its high officials, and its capital, what reason is there for it to prevaricate? Why depart from Napoleon's maxim *Frappez la masse, et tout le reste vient par surcroît*, or (freely translated) "Strike the center, and the rest will follow"? Inspecting bank accounts and sending a battalion to Zamboanga are not adequate while state support for terrorism as we have yet to see it in its full glory, when it turns to weapons of mass destruction, remains untouched. What then checks the United States from the proper aim of its supposedly overwhelming power?

THE MEASURE OF THEIR TILT

Without leave of Pakistan, a few Central Asian republics (thus, Russia), and to varying degrees Saudi Arabia and Iran, it would not have been possible to conduct the Afghan campaign without mobilization comparable to, if differently weighted than, that of the Gulf War. And to have done so after the severe degradation of the military during the Clinton years, the United States would have had to forgo its operational potential everywhere else in the world. Pakistan

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alone would have been difficult to overcome, as it is in essence a country built around an armed force. Because our power is not overwhelming and does not flow virtually without limit as once it did, we had to beg and flatter the very nations many of whose people cheered as the World Trade towers collapsed. The weak coalition thus assembled was born at the expense of throwing over the essential objective, while Afghanistan, always expendable, was happily tossed from the sled to divert, delay, distract, and pay us in the hope that we would shy from doing what really must be done.

Though Iraq, Iran, and Saudi Arabia are competitors or worse, they are now mutually protective not only of their existence but of the political independence of the Muslim world vis-à-vis the West, something in which terrorism inconveniently shelters, and that they will not sacrifice for the sake of eliminating terrorism, for which they have natural sympathy. Engaged of late in frenetic reconciliation, the Iraqis, Iranians, and Saudis have formed a kind of metaphysical triangle, toward the inherent strength of which have begun to lean—each for their own reasons—the Turks, Kurds, Russians, the Jordanians and most other Arab states, and even the Europeans, if their disapproval of American action against Iraq be taken for the measure of their tilt.

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Should the Islamic world unify against American intervention, the U.S. does not at present have the military power to do anything about it.

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One might add to this list the Department of State. Almost certainly, the general in charge realizes that conditions in the Arab world are moving it toward what could become one of its rare unifications behind a charismatic figure who would lead it to defy external pressure. The potential for explosive counter-reaction has been building with every day that has passed since September 11 and with each day of the Palestinian uprising. Unlike the prelude to the Gulf War, no Arab state has attacked another, and the Arabs look upon September 11 at best with detachment. This is why the Saudis, quite apart from their core beliefs, are and have been so cold. They remember Saladin, the Mahdi, and Nasser, and are biding their time.

General Powell also must know that should the Islamic world unify against American intervention, the United States does not at present have the military power to do anything about it. What if Egypt were to bar the U.S. Navy from the canal, Turkey stop flights from Incirlik, and Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states expel U.S. forces before combining with Iran to close the Gulf to American operations against Iraq? The United States has twelve aircraft carriers, of which ten are usually operational. Given transit times, attrition, repair, and the need to cover other areas, the idea of surging six aircraft carriers to stations in the Arabian Sea is optimistic. Rather than chance short-range attacks by shore-based aircraft and missiles, and Iranian submarines that might escape our attack submarines and lie in wait in the difficult anti-submarine-warfare environment of the Gulf, the carriers would probably remain far from their objectives, something that, without tanker support from land bases, would greatly reduce aircraft loiter time. The six air wings aboard would consist of 300 strike aircraft, which is roughly the same number of first-line F-15s and Tornados the Saudis can put up, with proximity to base more than doubling Saudi effectiveness.

Though even this could be forced and endured, it would be closely run. With hostage crises in half a dozen Islamic countries, and the sudden restriction of Middle Eastern oil driving the Europeans to apoplexy, a new détente with the Muslim world might seem attractive to an American president even if he could with just a quiet whisper turn every Arab capital to molten glass—especially if China or North Korea thought the moment opportune to address longstanding problems in the Pacific.

All of which is not to say that any such thing is likely to happen but that, given the correlation of forces, it could. This is what has allowed the Saudis to veto thus far a campaign in Iraq rather than simply acquiesce in view of our overwhelming fleet off its shores, our overwhelming reserves, and our overwhelming system of bases and support—none of which exists. Nor is it likely that the lesser Gulf states would give the United States a platform for attack in defiance of the political drift of their neighbors. And although it is true that from American bases alone the United States has long been able to destroy almost any enemy (and certainly Iraq) in even non-nuclear variations of Randy Newman's "Let's drop the big one and see what happens," it rightly shies from obliterating nations and peoples. Finally, the Afghan paradigm, to be deus ex machina for extant ground forces, is not likely, even generously assuming no problem of access and an Iraqi military, like the Taliban, on the verge of collapse—because there are no extant ground forces.

Such are the real dangers and constraints, but just as so many intellectuals were stopped short by the real powers of the Soviet bloc and dared not imagine how these could be contravened and overcome, so here it is not enough just to note the realities and stand down. The way around them is simple and traditional—to possess the massive military power the United States can afford, and to use it either to achieve decisive victories or to force capitulation without a shot.

SIMPLY NOT ENOUGH

After the Gulf War, Kosovo, and Afghanistan, is it possible to conclude that American military power is anything but adequate? Unfortunately, yes. The Gulf War was begun as the Soviet empire dissolved and the Arabs rushed to cooperate. We did not have to fight our way ashore or protect forces in transit. We were at war with an isolated regime and an army that depended upon overextended lines of communication. The United States was primed for combat with another superpower and had yet to reduce its military capacity almost by half. But despite all this, a decade later Saddam Hussein still rules.

Deterred from close-quarter battle in Kosovo by a lesser air defense than what now protects Saudi Arabia, the United States flew 37,000 sorties over 78 days to destroy 13 tanks,

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which made up less than 2 percent of Serbia's inventory. To accomplish this, the Air Force endured what its chief of staff called a strain heavier than either that of the Gulf War or that of Vietnam. And for nearly four months during this period, and beyond, while naval engagements between the Koreas resulted in the sinking of a North Korean gunboat, the United States had not a single carrier in the entire Western Pacific.

After September 11, combat air patrols over just a few American cities—requiring approximately 100 sorties per day from home bases, with neither aircraft nor bases under attack—were said by American officials, as paraphrased by the *Washington Post*, to "stretch the limits of the Air Force" and "severely tax military resources." What of the 1,800 fighters and bombers the RAF had to face on a single day in August 1940? Why is it that the American armed forces, with 6,000 strike aircraft, are strained by 100 sorties per day, when on the 4th of June, 1967, Israel's 290-plane air force flew more than 1,000 sorties?

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Will one enemy really refrain from making war against us because we are in combat with another? As Valley Girls say, 'Hello?'

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Over time and for no compelling reason, the United States has unilaterally forsworn, and is yet forswearing, one military capability after another. Whereas in Caligulizing defense the Clinton administration honored its absurd anti-military ideology, President Bush can claim no such rationale. Why, for example, does he plan to reduce the B-1 fleet by a third at the onset of what he calls the defining struggle of the 21st century, when the 31 planes that will be discarded are capable collectively of delivering to virtually any point in the world, at a single stroke, 4 million pounds of ordnance?

The administration has recklessly abandoned the long-standing two-major-theater-war construct. Inexplicably defining a major war as one in which a combatant occupies the enemy capital and changes the regime—strike World War I—the secretary of defense remains sanguine about facing two major outbreaks even if ready for only one. "Since neither aggressor would know which conflict would be selected for regime change, the deterrent is undiminished." That is, unless forces had already been moved, or one aggressor is willing to take a chance, or doesn't care, or ranks the two theaters according to U.S. strategic interests, or has a telltale intercept, etc. Will one enemy really refrain from making war against us because we are in combat with another? As Valley Girls say, "Hello?" Put charitably, to imagine that we will never be required to fight in multiple theaters is insane.

The secretary states most admirably that the administration's goal is not only to deter enemies from attacking with what they have but to "dissuade them from building dangerous new capabilities in the first place," by "demonstrating the futility of potential military competition." Precisely. And yet in the very same document he says that "we have not been able to fund shipbuilding at replacement rates in 2003—which means we remain on a downward course." And on the very same page, that the president has "concluded that stability and security in the new Century require . . . deep cuts in offensive nuclear forces." In light of the fact that China wants and is capable of achieving nuclear parity with the United States (see my "East Wind," in NATIONAL REVIEW, March 20, 2000), this is like the administration's decision before September 11 to seek "deep cuts in manpower." Not surprisingly, "In retrospect, we are finding that to fight the war . . . we have had to call up over 70,000 guard and reserves [by the middle of March, 80,000]. It is clear now . . . that it is not the time to cut manpower."

But it was clear *then*, just as it is clear now that it is not the time to cut nuclear weapons as China seeks parity, or long-range bombers at the onset of a war against terrorism, or to let the Navy dwindle in view of the need to project American power to Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and the Taiwan Strait. Like Britain, the United States has always been adept at winning small wars, but China, North Korea, and Iran, for example, do not offer such an option. To influence, deter, dissuade, and, in the worst case, fight them, this country must field more than a gendarmerie. It seems, though, as if someone has decided that heavy wars, hard-fought wars, wars in which the outcome is unsure, have ceased to exist. That, of course, is the kind of decision that helps to bring such wars into the world.

WHAT THE NUMBERS TELL

Since September 11, however, things have changed, and surely every failing will be corrected, if not by new probity then at least by chance in the tidal wave of defense increases that of late has transformed liberals into the fiscal equivalent of someone who cannot cry out in a dream. But what are the facts? Although the president campaigned to restore the military, his first defense budget represented virtually no change; the second—after September 11—a minuscule increase; and the third, though much trumpeted, a wholly insufficient one. The 2003 defense budget of $379 billion, less purely operational costs of the war, is 3.1 percent of the estimated U.S. GDP. To put this in perspective, average yearly military expenditure from 1940 to 2000 was 8.5 percent of GDP; in war and mobilization years, 13.3 percent; in non-war years, 5.7 percent; by Republican administrations, 7.3 percent; by Democratic, 9.4 percent; and by the Clinton administration, which did not speak to the military, 3.6 percent. The fact that GDP has expanded is unfortunately no comfort, in that the costs of maintaining a technologically advanced force have expanded even more; and of still less comfort is that the proposed increase, depending upon Daschle and events, may be nothing more than a bargaining position.

Can it be that, in a war year, the United States is devoting to defense only half the effort it has customarily expended in non-war years? Can it be that despite his promise to correct almost a decade of military neglect, despite the war against terrorism, the decision to deploy a missile defense, the need to dissuade China, and the imperative transformation of the military, President Bush proposes to spend less as a propor-

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tion of a slowly growing GNP than President Clinton spent with a rapidly expanding one? By the secretary of defense's own admission, "just to keep the Department going . . . on a straight-line with no improvements, simply covering the costs of inflation and realistic budgeting," requires $359.4 billion. "When one adds to that the $19.4 billion in this budget for the war on terrorism, the total comes to $378.8 billion out of a $379.3 billion budget." In knowing understatement, he goes on to say that this "does not correct a decade of underfunding." Indeed, it does not. By this reckoning, it provides—for all tasks urgent, necessary, and pledged—a 2003, non-inflation-adjusted, proposed increase of half a billion dollars.

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The president should be not the arbiter between military transformation and military fundamentals, but the advocate of both.

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Even including the proposed out-year budgets, with a compounded inflation assumption of 20 percent the 2003–07 increase over what was inherited is approximately 17 percent. Taking into account the war and increasingly costly advanced weapons, this, too, is just standing still. There are many ways in which the inadequacy of expenditure finds expression other than in the candid admissions of the principals. Research and development will grow in 2003 by 12 percent, which in light of inflation and the delayed replacements of the '90s is virtually nothing; special operations, a sine qua non of the defining struggle as it has been struggled to date, 19 percent; and procurement 10.6 percent. Even some Democrats, way out on the president's right flank, understand that this will not do. Washington Democrat Norm Dicks states, as if possessed by Scoop Jackson's ghost, "There's a $30 billion procurement gap. I don't see how we fill that with [this] budget." And Rep. Gene Taylor, Democrat of Mississippi, may have experienced a certain delight in pointing out that the administration's naval program fails even to equal, much less surpass, the construction rates of any of the Clinton years. Indeed, to fight terror, the president will in the next five years shrink his already shrunken navy of 300 ships down to 286, and provide for it fewer than half the aircraft required to sustain current force levels.

Opponents of non-three-card-monte defense increases may riposte that the measurements cited are taken relative to ourselves rather than to potential enemies, and are therefore immaterial because, inter alia, as they are fond of pointing out on countless hapless op-ed pages, the United States spends on defense as much as or more than the rest of the world combined. But it doesn't. In 2000, the last year for which all figures are readily available, the rest of the world spent almost twice as much. Allowing for other countries' conscription and that 60 percent of American defense costs are related to manpower, the rest of the world spends roughly 3.5 times what we do. Yet another disadvantageous multiple is purchasing-power parity, which means essentially that the local-currency equivalent of a U.S. dollar will buy in China, as elsewhere, far more than a dollar will buy in the U.S. The process of equalization continues across many spectra. For example, the United States fights logistics-based wars according to a forward strategy that requires gargantuan outlays of matériel and transport. And asymmetrical warfare dictates asymmetrical budgeting, because defeating guerrillas in most conditions requires an imbalance in numbers and equipment. Though North Vietnam's military expenditures were nominally less than a single percent of our own, they did give us quite a good run.

Just when America has awakened, what possible explanation is there for flat-lining defense? Is the policy in any way justifiable? Its authors believe that it is, because they think they have a magic bullet.

A PERSISTENT REALITY

They will say that war has changed, this war is different, and the revolution in military affairs makes weapons so many times more accurate that correspondingly fewer are needed. Thus, historical comparison is no longer valid, and advocacy of Cold War procurement patterns rather than "transformation" is like advocacy of the horse over the tank. Prolonging the old ways for which they are required, massive expenditures are actually harmful, and so on. Were these arguments as true as the aim of the weapons to which they refer, they would not be inconvenienced by persistent reality.

The new military technology is indeed many times more accurate and efficient than the old, but also many times more expensive. And even if precision guidance and a luminous picture of battle make, let us say, an F-16 ten times more capable than its earliest prototype, the numbers of F-16s cannot be reduced concomitantly, because one F-16 cannot be in ten places at once. Nor will it be mechanically ten times as reliable, and although it may be equivalent in some senses to ten aircraft, when it goes down nine aircraft do not remain. Most of the new systems, which contrary to much expert belief are not revolutionary but the logical and continuing development of the Cold War arsenal, depend upon vulnerable electronic links many of which are in orbit, adding to their cost the cost of dominating space. And it should be clear from many prosaic examples such as the strain upon the Air Force just to keep a few planes over New York and Washington that military transformation is hardly the panacea its partisans claim. Whatever its magic, it still must have customary, conventional, expensive support.

Though sharpened in the competition for scarce resources during the Clinton years, why has the destructive contest between "reformers" and "traditionalists" been allowed to continue in a time of war? If it was a strategy of divide and conquer, to keep the military in check, is that necessary for Mr. Clinton's Republican successor? If it is a result of the managerial ethos, in which the object is to accomplish a task with minimal investment, is it not a wholly gratuitous sin to stake the defense of a nation on a philosophy of business? Military transformation is essential, but no more so than military fundamentals. Especially in time of war, the president

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should be not the arbiter between them but the advocate of both. Clearly we should have had and could have had the mass, munitions stocks, strength in reserve, and fleet to have suppressed a Saudi veto and overwhelmed Iraq as we simultaneously campaigned in Afghanistan. Instead we are forced to play extenuating games with a rogue regime in possession of weapons of mass destruction. As for China when it rises, which may not be long from now, we can only run from a land war, and unless we double the size of the Navy, even those among us who are old may live to see our Asian allies fall under Chinese domination as the Stars and Stripes are thrown from the Western Pacific.

During the Second World War, the United States diverted more than a third—and by some estimates half—of its GNP to defense, despite the fact that real per capita GNP was much smaller than it is now, and thus the margin for such expenditure smaller as well. Even so, the country prospered. Wages increased in the war years by 50 percent as prices rose only by 20 percent, bringing increases in the standard of living across the board. Were the United States today to direct a similar proportion of its energies to defense, it could allot $4 trillion and still not sink beneath the waves. Were it to revert merely to the peacetime average of the last half-century, it could easily and painlessly sustain a defense budget not of $379 billion but of $655 billion, which is more or less what it should be. Have we become so dependent upon the entitlements we have manufactured in recent decades that we have lost the will to defend ourselves, and cannot spend in war what once was spent routinely in peace? Is our level of mobilization what it would be if New York and Washington were struck by nuclear weapons, and if not, why not, so as to forestall rather than simply to react?

The very words that President Bush spoke to Congress in its historic joint session of September 20, 2001, which have most often been cited and have actually been written on walls—"We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail"—are lifted without attribution from Churchill's great speech of February 1941, and as expressed are as inadequate and incomplete as a subject without a predicate. They ask the implicit question, "How?" but do not answer it, as Churchill did, when he said, "We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire. Neither the sudden shock of battle, nor the long-drawn trials of vigilance and exertion will wear us down. Give us the tools, and we will finish the job."

As if the war were unreal, the president asked America neither for sacrifice nor for the tools that, knowing that the war is real and may yet become more terrible, America would have granted him to any degree. Does he believe that the United States is capable of nothing more than running a gendarmerie and begging small dictatorships for aid? If it decides to do so, America is capable, as in recent memory, of moving across seas and sweeping its armies over continents. Have we not been sufficiently provoked? Is the necessity of dissuasion unclear? Is the right to action not apparent? Is the need for preparation not obvious? And in this above all—the need for preparation—why does the president's policy not comport with the valor and sacrifice of his troops, the political will of the people, and the inexhaustible strengths of this great nation? **NR**

What Should an American Know?

The new naturalization: dumbed down and deleterious

JOHN J. MILLER

IMMIGRANTS seeking citizenship are required to pass a test on U.S. history and government. Here are five sample questions, drawn from the Immigration and Naturalization Service's list of 100 recommended possibilities: What are the colors of our flag? Who was the first president? Who is the president today? What are the two major political parties? How many states are there?

It's not exactly the stuff of a doctoral dissertation, or even a high-school civics class. It's the sort of thing we'd expect an ordinary ten-year-old to know. And yet the INS doesn't expect immigrants pursuing naturalization to know even this much. Its test-taking guidelines suggest that they need to answer only 60 percent of the questions correctly—that's three out of the five listed above (though they often face a total of ten). In a lot of schools, a score of 60 percent translates into a letter grade of D minus. One lesson many immigrants learn from this process is that their new country really doesn't expect a lot of them.

That's a shame, because naturalization is a glorious instrument of American democracy. The whole experience of it—leading up to an oath in which immigrants firmly renounce their political attachments to other nations—ought to infuse new citizens with a sense of duty, loyalty, and responsibility. To a certain extent, it does: A citizenship ceremony is one of the most moving events in public life, with participants remembering it the way other Americans remember graduations and weddings. In recent years, however, naturalization has come to resemble nothing so much as a trip to the Department of Motor Vehicles. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the Bush administration's recent proposal to split the INS in two.

On a fundamental level, restructuring makes sense. Probably no other government agency has a worse reputation than the INS, and this was true long before it issued flight-school visas to a pair of the September 11 hijackers six months after the attack. Eight years ago, the *New York Times* printed an extensive series of exposés on the INS and was forced to conclude—in a news article, not an editorial—that it's "broadly dysfunctional" and "perhaps the most troubled major agency in the federal government." If anything, problems at the INS have only grown more severe.

The Bush administration proposes replacing it with a pair of separate bureaus within the Justice Department. One would concentrate on enforcement (Border Patrol, etc.), with the other focusing on something called "services."

What is an immigration "service"? It is any kind of benefit the INS might bestow on an immigrant, such as a green card or a work permit. The term also includes one of the federal govern-

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ment's most important functions, granted to it by the Constitution: determining who may gain U.S. citizenship. To the restructuring proposal, however, service is a calling unto itself. The 40-page document detailing the reorganization contains 81 references to "services" and 24 to "customers," but only 4 times does it mention "citizens" and never does it use the word "citizenship." "There is no discussion of the importance of citizenship or civic obligation," says John Fonte of the Hudson Institute, who did the counting.

For anybody who has had the misfortune of dealing with the INS, service is no small thing. It can take more than a year for the agency to process a form. INS waiting rooms are famously frustrating places. Some offices shut down every other Friday because lenient civil-service rules allow full-time federal employees to take the time off.

There is clearly a need to improve the basic performance of the INS, but the reorganization proposal loses sight of the fact that the immigration service is not just any federal entity. Immigrants applying for citizenship are not "customers" seeking a "service"—they are Americans in the making, and INS employees work in the service of the whole country when they determine which immigrants will be granted the privilege of citizenship. In the world of business, it makes sense to treat customers with deference, and the INS certainly ought to treat immigrants with respect; but the mindset of regarding immigrants exclusively as customers encourages bureaucrats to eliminate all obstacles in the way of providing a service.

By Roman Genn

It also invites corruption. During the Clinton years, the INS came under extraordinary pressure to approve as many citizenship applicants as possible in the shortest amount of time, on the assumption that many of these new voters would support Democrats. Douglas Farbrother, an aide to Vice President Gore, described in a memo his plan to "produce a million new citizens before election day" in 1996. One of the ideas involved "lower[ing] the standards for citizenship" and specifically a "more liberal" interpretation of the standards surrounding the already laughably easy test on history and government. (To its credit, the INS appears to have fought off some of these political machinations. The agency did grant citizenship before the 1996 election to about 180,000 immigrants without making them undergo the required FBI criminal-background check, but this was probably a routine example of INS ineptitude.)

A LOUSY TEST

How the citizenship test could be made much easier is difficult to fathom. Among the requirements for citizenship is that the immigrant must possess "a knowledge and understanding of the history, and of the principles and form of government in the United States." To comply with this requirement, the INS has developed its list of 100 questions. Some offices require scores of higher than 60 percent to pass, but even the six-out-of-ten standard isn't always maintained.

"Standard," in fact, isn't really the right word. As a December 2000 INS memo states, "officers must review each set of questions to determine if the list contains questions that are too complex or advanced for the applicant, taking into consideration . . . the applicant's education, background, age, length of residence in the United States, opportunities available and efforts made to acquire the knowledge." In other words, if a question like "What are the colors of the flag?" is *just too hard*, then naturalization officers are encouraged to dumb it down.

In truth, most immigrants do very well on their citizenship tests. The pass rate is high—upwards of 90 percent—and perfect scores are common. But that isn't saying much when the list of 100 potential questions is a commonly circulated document. It's available on the INS web page, and everybody involved in naturalization has a copy. When immigrants study for the test, they're studying the test itself, as if it were a cheat sheet. They don't learn anything substantive; they simply memorize a set of trivia. It's worth knowing, of course, that George Washington was the first president—but it's even better to know why he's first in the hearts of his countrymen. The INS does virtually nothing to ensure this happens. "There's not a thing about that test that teaches American values," says Greg Gourley, who runs New Americans of Washington, a consultancy near Seattle that helps immigrants fill out their INS paperwork and prepares them for naturalization.

The whole culture of citizenship education is misguided. Last year, the Department of Education earmarked $21 million to infuse adult English-as-a-second-language classes with civics instruction. The grants were passed out to the states, and in California, the World Without War Council (which is not leftist, despite the name) sought a small grant to create a program that would have introduced immigrants to the ideas of the Founders. Its application was initially turned down, and then approved with strings attached. As Brigitte Marshall of the state education department explained to the group in an e-mail last July, "Adult learning research demonstrates that adult learners at the lowest levels of literacy in their own languages may encounter severe challenges when it comes to consideration and treatment of abstract and value laden concepts." These "abstract and value laden concepts," of course, include such highfalutin notions as "all men are created equal." Marshall insisted that ESL classes focus instead on "immediate and pressing life needs."

Nobody disputes that ESL students need to gain a functional understanding of everyday English, but the refusal to include any civic content in their education is mystifying. It gets back to the INS "service" mentality. Providing instruction on how to open a bank account is useful and worth doing—a kind of "service"—but must it occur in the complete absence of patriotic Americanization? By zeroing in on the perceived needs of students, the INS and ESL educators ignore the needs of the country.

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TEACHING AMERICANISM

The old Americanization Movement, which committed itself to the assimilation of the Ellis Island generation of newcomers, was deeply involved in citizenship education. It held classes, printed booklets, and sponsored lectures aimed at helping immigrants understand what it meant to be American. Many of these activities were funded privately, especially by business, but state and local governments also played a strong role. In the 1990s, the Seattle INS office ran a pilot program that briefly revived that bygone spirit. Immigrants who enrolled in citizenship classes at community colleges were allowed to complete their naturalization at the end of their course—a step that in some cases saved more than a year that would otherwise have been spent waiting. Coursework focused on passing the citizenship test, but it was impossible for immigrants sitting through ten weeks of instruction not to learn far more than the answers to 100 simple questions. The INS inexplicably cancelled the innovative program, citing bureaucratic delays and costs (even though students paid their own tuition).

The defunct Seattle project should be revived and turned into a national model; and the citizenship test itself should be reformed. In addition to answering a set of simple questions, perhaps immigrants should be made to memorize the oath of citizenship they speak at their naturalization. They could also be required to know the Pledge of Allegiance, or some other simple statement, such as the preamble to the Constitution, the Gettysburg Address, or an excerpt from the "I Have a Dream" speech.

The most innovative idea of all is to remove the power of awarding citizenship from INS bureaucrats. "The current test reflects a thin and liberal definition of citizenship," says Harry Boyte of the University of Minnesota. He proposes convening panels of citizens, drawn from the general population like juries, to determine which immigrants deserve citizenship and which do not. Instead of grading multiple-choice tests, members of the panel could ask direct and open-ended questions. What does it mean to be a citizen? Why do you want to be one? Why do you deserve citizenship? Naturalization law says that immigrants must not only understand the principles of American citizenship, they must also be *attached* to them. Are they? Answering this question requires subjective judgment, and there's no reason to think INS employees are better able to exercise it than ordinary Americans.

Immigration policy has been dominated by elites and special interests ever since the 1965 law reopened the United States to massive admission levels—something it wasn't intended to do, and something its supporters promised would not happen. Allowing ordinary Americans to become involved in the naturalization process through citizen panels won't fix that, but it would confer a vital responsibility on the public, which hasn't had much say in the immigration debates.

These are flag-waving days. If the naturalization process can't be improved now, it won't ever be improved. What reformers need is a public champion, a person who can speak persuasively on the patriotic necessity of assimilating immigrants, just as Teddy Roosevelt used to do when he stumped for Americanization.

Is John McCain looking for something to do? **NR**

The Gay Question

Amid the Catholic Church's current scandals, an unignorable issue

ROD DREHER

THE first thing to understand about the Catholic Church's pedophilia scandal is that it is not technically a pedophilia scandal. Despite the gruesome example of defrocked Boston priest John Geoghan, whose case started the current tidal wave of revelations, the overwhelming majority of priests who have molested minors are not pedophiles—that is, like Geoghan, among the rare adults sexually attracted to pre-pubescent children. They are, rather, "ephebophiles"—adults who are sexually attracted to post-pubescent youths, generally aged 12 to 17. And their victims have been almost exclusively boys.

Stephen Rubino, a New Jersey lawyer, says that of the over 300 alleged victims of priest sex abuse he has represented, roughly 85 percent are boys, and were teenagers when the abuse occurred. Dr. Richard Fitzgibbons, an eminent Catholic psychiatrist who has treated scores of victims and priest-perpetrators, says 90 percent of his patients were either teen male victims of priests, or priests who abused teen boys.

"I think we have to ask the question: Why are 90 percent to 95 percent, and some estimates say as high as 98 percent, of the victims of clergy [abuse] teenage boys? . . . We need to ask that question, and I think there's a certain reluctance to raise that issue," said the Rev. Donald B. Cozzens, author of *The Changing Face of the Priesthood*, on a recent *Meet the Press*.

The reluctance arises, no doubt, partly out of a fear of antagonizing homosexual anti-defamation groups, who resent the stereotype of male homosexuals as pederasts. It's much safer to focus inquiry on the question of mandatory celibacy, or the issue of ordaining women. Yet it defies common sense to imagine that an ordinary man, having made a vow not to marry, is therefore going to be sexually attracted to boys. Indeed, suppose the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s had admitted married men to the ranks of the Catholic priesthood: Would a single adolescent boy molested over the past 40 years have escaped his fate? Similarly, if women had been ordained, would that somehow have made sexually predatory gay priests disappear?

No, this is chiefly a scandal about unchaste or criminal homosexuals in the Catholic priesthood, and about far too many in Church leadership disinclined to deal with the problem—or, worse, who may in some cases be actively involved in the misconduct. For Catholics, to start asking questions about homosexuality in the priesthood is to risk finding out more than many Church members prefer to know. For journalists, to confront the issue is to risk touching the electrified third rail of American popular culture: the

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dark side of homosexuality. Yet when we learn that the greatest crisis the Catholic Church in America has ever faced has been brought upon it almost wholly by male clerics seducing boys, attention must be paid to the man behind the curtain.

It is true that a great many gay people are sickened and appalled by what these wicked priests have done to boys, and some with a public voice, like journalist Andrew Sullivan, have vigorously denounced it. At the same time, Sullivan has strongly supported the ministry of gay priests.

How many gay priests are there? No one can say with certainty; the American bishops have never formally studied the issue, and, for obvious reasons, it is all but impossible to determine an accurate number. Richard Sipe, a laicized priest and psychotherapist who has studied the phenomenon of priests and sex abuse for most of his 40-year career, believes 20 percent of Catholic priests are homosexual, and that half of those are sexually active. In his book, Fr. Cozzens cites various studies putting the total much higher, but these surveys typically suffer from methodological problems that skew the numbers upward.

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The Church's official teaching distinguishes between homosexual orientation and homosexual acts.

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But those who lowball the numbers could equally be accused of wanting to downplay the problem. The Rev. C. John McCloskey, a member of the conservative Opus Dei organization, claimed recently that the number of gay priests is "two percent to four percent at a maximum," or equivalent to the estimated number of homosexuals in the general population; if that were true, however, it would be hard to explain why, according to experts, Catholic priests are dying of AIDS at a higher rate than males in the general population.

THE LAVENDER MAFIA

The raw numbers are less important, though, if homosexual priests occupy positions of influence in the vast Catholic bureaucracy; and there seems little doubt that this is the case in the American Church. Lest this be dismissed as right-wing paranoia, it bears noting that psychotherapist Sipe is no conservative—indeed, he is disliked by many on the Catholic Right for his vigorous dissent from Church teaching on sexual morality—yet he is convinced that the sexual abuse of minors is facilitated by a secret, powerful network of gay priests. Sipe has a great deal of clinical and research experience in this field; he has reviewed thousands of case histories of sexually active priests and abuse victims. He is convinced of the existence of what the Rev. Andrew Greeley, the left-wing clerical gadfly, has called a "lavender Mafia."

"This is a system. This is a whole community. You have many good people covering it up," Sipe says. "There is a network of power. A lot of seminary rectors and teachers are part of it, and they move to chancery-office positions, and on to bishoprics. It's part of the ladder of success. It breaks your heart to see the people who suffer because of this."

In his new book, *Goodbye! Good Men*, Michael S. Rose documents in shocking detail how pervasive militant homosexuality is in many seminaries, how much gay sex is taking place among seminarians and priest-professors, and how gay power cliques exclude and punish heterosexuals who oppose them. "It's not just a few guys in a few seminaries that have an ax to grind. It is a pattern," says Rose. "The protective network [of homosexual priests] begins in the seminaries."

The stories related in Rose's book will strike many as incredible, but they track closely with the stories that priests have told me about open gay sex and gay politicking in seminaries. The current scandal is opening Catholic eyes: As one ex-seminarian says, "People thought I was crazy when I told them what it was like there, so I finally quit talking about it. They're starting to see now that I wasn't."

Goodbye! Good Men links homosexuality among priests with theological dissent, a connection commonly made by conservative Catholics who wonder why their parish priests have practically abandoned teaching and explaining Catholic sexual morality. But one veteran vocations-team member for a conservative diocese cautions that Catholics should not assume that theological orthodoxy guarantees heterosexuality or chastity. "You find [active homosexuality] among some pretty conservative orders, and in places you'd not expect it," he says. "That's what makes this so depressing. You don't know where to turn."

An especially nasty aspect of this phenomenon is the vulnerability of sexually active gay priests and bishops to manipulation via blackmail. Priests, psychiatrists, and other informed parties say they encounter this constantly. "It's the secrecy," says Stephen Rubino. "If you're a bishop and you're having a relationship, and people know about it, are you compromised on dealing with sexually abusive priests? You bet you are. I've seen it happen."

Longtime observers predict that in the coming weeks, bishops and priests will be forced to resign under fire after their closeted homosexual lives, including sexual abuse, become public. The disgraced pederast former bishop of Palm Beach, Fla., is probably not alone. If this happens, the Vatican will face mounting pressure from the Catholic rank-and-file to take action. As Fr. Greeley has written, "The laity, I suspect, would say it is one thing to accept a homosexual priest and quite another to accept a substantially homosexual clergy, many of whom are blatantly part of the gay subculture."

Rome has explicitly discouraged the ordination of homosexuals since at least 1961. For the past decade, the Vatican has been ratcheting up the pressure against gay ordination—to little avail in most U.S. dioceses. Last year, Archbishop Tarcisio Bertone, a top Vatican official, said gays should not be admitted to seminaries, a line that was reinforced in early March by the Pope's spokesman, Joaquin Navarro-Valls. Recent reports indicate that the Vatican may soon release another document to restate and clarify this policy.

Today, those who defend allowing homosexuals into the priesthood point to the Church's official teaching, which distinguishes between homosexual orientation (which the

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Church does not consider sinful) and homosexual acts (which the Catechism labels "grave depravity"). There is nothing wrong, the argument goes, with ordaining a homosexually oriented man committed to living chastely and to upholding the Church's teaching on sexuality. Surely there are many such faithful priests in service.

This argument, though, seems persuasive only under conditions far removed from those under which priests have to live today. We now have a culture in which there is little support for chastity, even from within the ranks of the Catholic priesthood. Conservative theologian Michael Novak says he is not prepared to argue for the exclusion of homosexuals from ordination, but as an ex-seminarian, he strongly believes gays should not be on seminary faculties, directing the formation in chastity of young men. Other Catholics who are more liberal than Novak on many Church issues go further on the question of gay ordination: Sipe believes gays shouldn't be admitted into seminaries at the present time—for their own protection, against sexual predators among the faculty and administration, who will attempt to draw them into a priestly subculture in which gay sex is normative behavior. Fr. Thomas P. Doyle, another critic of celibacy who has been deeply involved in the clergy-abuse issue, concurs: "Ordaining gay men at this time would be putting them, no matter how good and dedicated, in a precarious position."

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The only sensible response, it would seem, is a zero-tolerance policy when it comes to sexual behavior by clergy.

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No one wants to stigmatize homosexuals as abusers, because most of them are not. Still, it's hard to gainsay the contention that if there were few homosexuals in the priesthood, the number of sex-abuse victims today would be drastically lower. "We're learning a significant lesson from all this," says Dr. Fitzgibbons. "We have to protect our young. The protection of children and teenagers is more important than the feelings of homosexuals."

Though the American scandal is nowhere near played out, it seems likely that the barrage of humiliating revelations and mounting financial losses will force the Vatican to get tough on gay ordinations. To have any hope of being effective, Rome will have to clean house at most American seminaries. This can be done only if local bishops can be trusted to be both loyal to Rome and resolute—and that will happen only if the Vatican forces them to be accountable.

That still leaves the problem of current and future priests who are both homosexual and unchaste. It is true that most of the abuse cases that have reached the public's attention today involve older priests, and the situation in the seminaries has apparently been reined in somewhat from the anything-goes heyday of the 1970s and 1980s. Nevertheless, the problem is still enormous. Most of the cases reported in *Goodbye! Good Men* involving homosexual corruption date from recent years. One priest who left his seminary teaching post in the mid 1990s in despair over rampant homosexuality—and episcopal indifference to it—told me ominously: "The things I have seen in my years there are probably previews of coming attractions."

A RETURN TO THE FAITH

The only sensible response, it would seem, is a zero-tolerance policy when it comes to sexual behavior by clergy, even between consenting adults (homosexual and heterosexual). The laity has a role to play as well. In a much-discussed essay in the November 2000 *Catholic World Report*, the Rev. Paul Shaughnessy, a Jesuit priest, suggested that lay Catholics seeking reform should help keep their priests accountable. He urged lay Catholics to use their checkbooks to fight sexual corruption, by steering their donations away from scandal-ridden dioceses and religious orders, and sending them instead to clean groups like Mother Teresa's Missionaries of Charity—and then letting the bishop or religious order know what they've done and why.

There is tremendous fear among churchmen that the kind of changes needed to put the Church aright will result in a severe loss of numbers in the priesthood at a time when vocations are already at a historic low. That is probably true in the short run, but the experience of a handful of American dioceses in which the local bishop is openly orthodox and willing to defend Church teaching without compromise gives reason to hope that a strong dose of traditional medicine can go a long way toward curing the Church's ills.

In 1995, Archbishop Elden Curtiss of Omaha published an article pointing out that dioceses that promote rigorous fidelity to Church teaching and practice produce significantly more vocations than do the moderate to liberal majority. Seminaries like Mount Saint Mary's in Emmitsburg, Md.—where men know they will be supported in their authentic Catholic beliefs and practices, and in their commitment to celibacy and chastity—are filled to capacity.

This is not to suggest that the crisis now gripping the Catholic Church in America can be entirely solved by a restoration of rigorously orthodox theology. Another problem that has to be addressed is the clericalist bias seriously afflicting the judgment of many bishops: Even Curtiss himself erred recently, by keeping an Omaha priest in ministry after the priest admitted having a child-pornography problem. But a return to the basics has to be a big part of a comprehensive solution. There is every reason to believe that a conservative reform—replacing dissenting or milquetoast bishops with solid, no-nonsense men; making the seminaries safe places for heterosexuals loyal to Church teaching; and restoring the priesthood to a corps of chaste, faith-filled disciples—would result in a tide of good men seeking holy orders.

This has already been happening in dioceses like Omaha; Lincoln, Neb.; Denver; Peoria, Ill.; Fargo, N.D.; and Arlington, Va. The road map that points the way to an authentic renewal of the Catholic priesthood is being drawn up in those places. And if you want to see the alternative—what would happen if the U.S. Church simply stayed on its current course—just read the morning papers. **NR**

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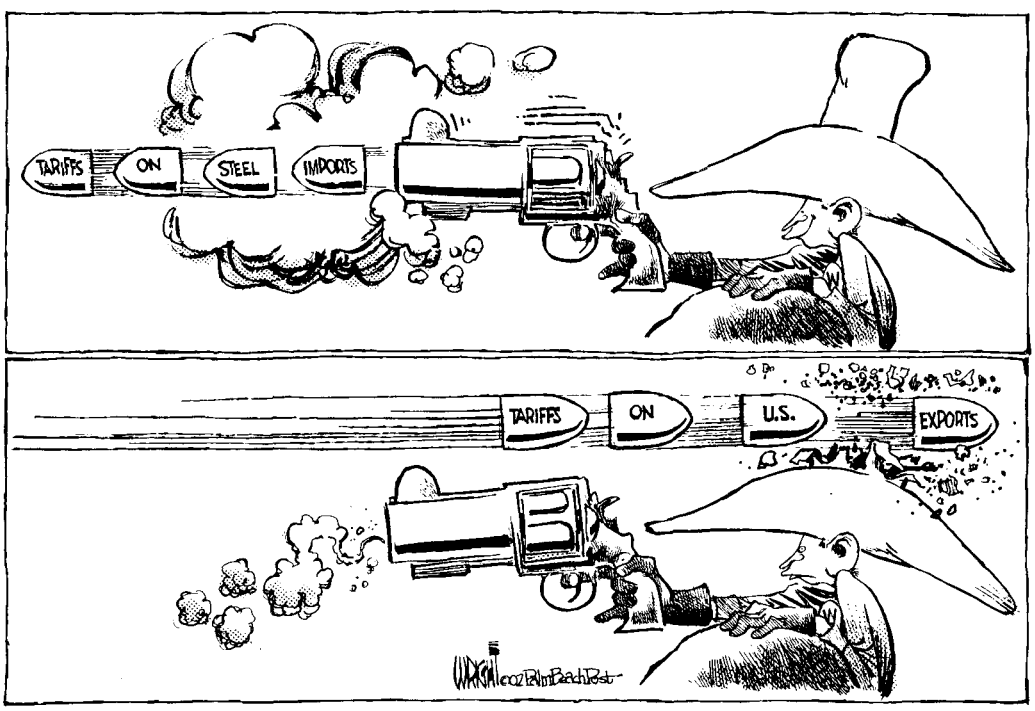

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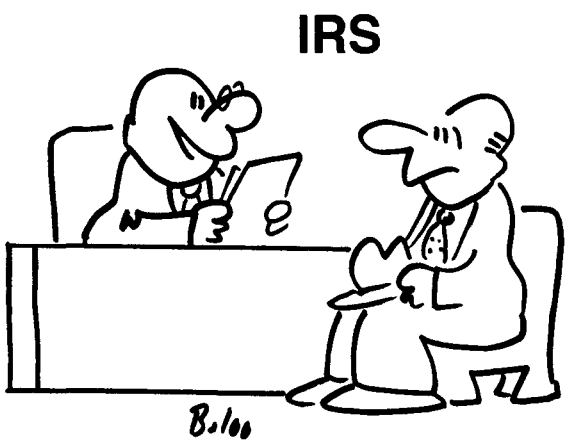
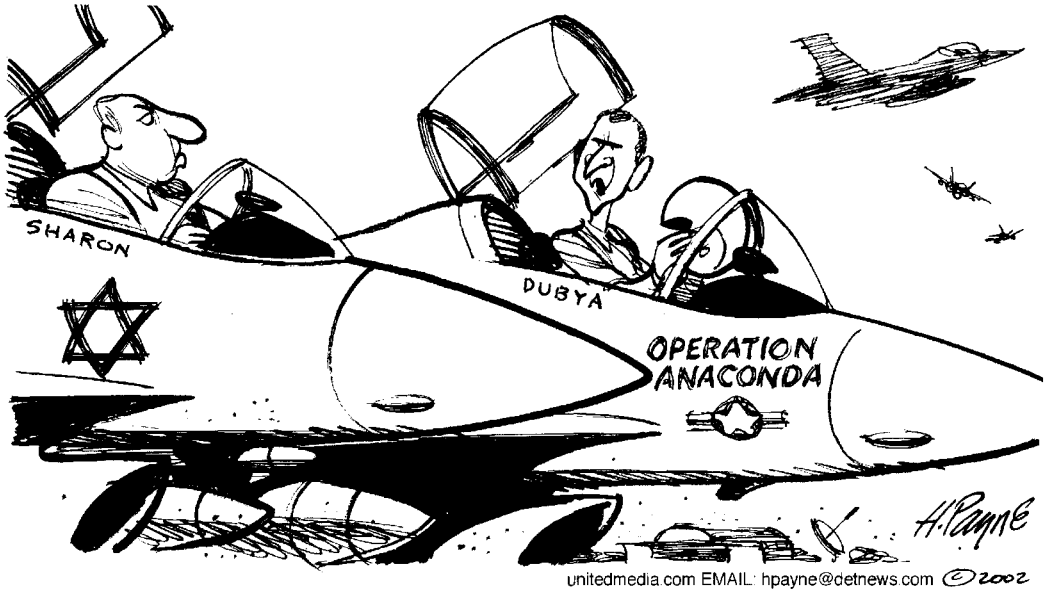


"Wow!—Mind if I remove my necktie and roll my sleeves up?"

It's Getting Iffy

Iraq is calendar'd for fall
If Arabs just sit still,
Oil wells remain quiescent, and
Sharon sops up that spill;
If all those ifs are overcome,
The moon is Camembert,
Pigs whistle, and when showgirls bump,
Pubescent boys don't stare.

—W. H. von Dreele



"WHERE DID YOU GET THE IDEA YOU COULD CONDUCT CROSS-BORDER RAIDS IN RETRIBUTION FOR TERRORIST ATTACKS?!"

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THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

From *Larry King Live*, Thursday, April 3, 2003:

LARRY KING: Baton Rouge, you're on with Yasser Arafat, hello!
BATON ROUGE: Am I on?
LARRY KING: You're on. What's your question?
BATON ROUGE: My question is, do you miss being a world leader?
LARRY KING: Good question. Do you miss it? The high-level meetings? The top guys coming over for peace talks?
ARAFAT: Honestly, Larry, some days I do. But I love my life here. I love Colorado.
LARRY KING: Do you ski?
ARAFAT: No. No, Larry. Not at my age.
LARRY KING: And the helmet with the headdress . . .
ARAFAT: Yes, yes. It is all too difficult.
LARRY KING: What's a typical Yasser Arafat day, now that you've retired—
ARAFAT: I was banished, Larry. I didn't retire. Lucky for me my cousin owns a Mobil station in Boulder.
LARRY KING: A typical day?
ARAFAT: I get up, read the papers. Go online to follow world events, e-mail friends and former colleagues. I try to stay active.
LARRY KING: Hilversum, Holland, you're on with Yasser Arafat, hello!
HILVERSUM: Yes, hello to you Larry and to you, Chairman Arafat.
LARRY KING: What's your question?
HILVERSUM: My question is whether Chairman Arafat regrets the many years of bloodshed that he caused with his refusal to negotiate in good faith?
LARRY KING: What do you say to that?
ARAFAT: Well, I have a philosophy: I never look back. I keep moving forward, keep reaching for the stars, keep living each day to the fullest.
LARRY KING: Interesting philosophy.
ARAFAT: Don't you think? I got it from a calendar they sell in my cousin's Mobil Mini Mart.
LARRY KING: Tomorrow, the cast of TV's *Becker*! Later in the week, Shirley Jones and Condoleezza Rice!

From *The Bill Clinton Show*, Monday, May 12, 2003:

ARAFAT: . . . because I thought I'd miss *Rosie*, but may I say, Mr. President—and to me you will always be "Mr. President"—
CLINTON: Thank you, Yasser. Thank you.
[studio applause]
ARAFAT: You are truly filling her shoes wonderfully. You are the new Rosie. And I mean that.
[studio applause]
CLINTON: Thanks, thanks. You know, who wants to follow Rosie O'Donnell, right?
ARAFAT: But you do it so well!
CLINTON: It's easy with guests like you!
[studio applause]
CLINTON: But can we just talk seriously, for a moment?
ARAFAT: This guy! This guy!
[studio laughter]
CLINTON: It was said, back when you were the head of the Palestinian Authority, that you would call for peace and an end to violence in English, but in Arabic you would call for more suicide bombings. How do you respond to that?
ARAFAT: Well, Bill, I really think that was a cultural and communications misunderstanding. And I have to shake a finger at the translators you have working in this country.
CLINTON: Yes, I know. We really are quite provincial here in the United States.
ARAFAT: You see, in Arabic, the word for "peace" is also the word for "more suicide bombings." So you can see how—
CLINTON: Sort of like the Hawaiian word "aloha."
ARAFAT: "Aloha" means "more suicide bombings"?
CLINTON: No, no, it means "hello," "goodbye," and "I love you," but the principle is the same, I guess. But thanks for that explanation. I think that helps me and a lot of people in this country understand things a bit better.
ARAFAT: Wonderful, wonderful.
[studio applause]
CLINTON: So you're going to cook for us?
ARAFAT: Yes.
CLINTON: Great! The new book is called *From Arafat to Ara-thin: A Weight Loss Guide for Active Seniors*.
ARAFAT: I lost forty pounds!
CLINTON: And you look great! Doesn't he, folks?
[studio applause]
ARAFAT: I'm going to make a simple lime-marinated chicken with a sweet papaya salsa. I wanted these recipes to be fast and light. Because who has time to slave away in the kitchen, right?
[studio applause]

From *The O'Reilly Factor*, Wednesday, June 18, 2003:

O'REILLY: . . . I wouldn't've let you in the country, no—
ARAFAT: . . . but my passport is a diplomatic—
O'REILLY: . . . you're a terrorist, Mr. Arafat, a terrorist—
ARAFAT: . . . I am on a book tour—
O'REILLY: . . . people who sell tires are tire salesmen, Mr. Arafat—
ARAFAT: . . . available at Barnes and Noble—
O'REILLY: . . . people who sell ice cream are ice-cream salesmen. You sell terror, so you're a terror—
ARAFAT: I was banished from—
O'REILLY: . . . that stupid-looking napkin on your . . .
ARAFAT: . . . many people died in the . . .
O'REILLY: . . . too tight, or something . . .
ARAFAT: . . . Israeli aggression and unprovoked . . .
O'REILLY: . . . in this country wearing that? I don't think so. If I worked at JFK I'd . . .
ARAFAT: . . . twenty years of settlements . . .
O'REILLY: . . . in gasoline or something, then stick the thing right up . . .
ARAFAT: . . . it was the Israelis who used terror against . . .
O'REILLY: . . . and light it on fire . . .
ARAFAT: . . . for peace and the future of our children . . .
O'REILLY: . . . make you fly around like a bottle rocket. But hey, that's my opinion. I'll give you the last word.
ARAFAT: Um . . . I'll be on "Leno" next week.
O'REILLY: And the book is in stores?
ARAFAT: Oh, yes.
O'REILLY: Probably right next to my book. Pick 'em both up, folks. And, hey, Yasser, I really admire you for having the guts to come on the *Factor*.
ARAFAT: Thanks, Bill.

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He Is Somebody

ROD DREHER

Shakedown: Exposing the Real Jesse Jackson, by Kenneth R. Timmerman (Regnery, 512 pp., $29.95)

FOR a book that provides so little new information about its subject, this manages to be a shocking piece of work. Kenneth R. Timmerman has compiled an exhaustive, just-the-facts account that reads more like a prosecutor's brief than a biography; he reports what seems like every sleazy thing that has ever been reported or otherwise documented about Jesse Jackson's wildly successful 40-year career as a public nuisance. You come away from *Shakedown* astonished at how much we've always known about Jackson's flagrant dirtbaggery—and at how little difference this knowledge has made to the Establishment.

Jackson's is an all-American success story, of the robber-baron type. Timmerman demonstrates that Jackson has always been a self-promoting egotist with boundless chutzpah, little regard for the rules, and an uncanny ability to manipulate the market—in his case, the market in white guilt—for immense personal gain. The only thing that's changed for him in four decades are the stakes. The difference between Jackson and the robber barons is that the latter left behind museums, libraries, and other facilities to enhance the commonweal. Jackson's legacy to anyone outside his family and inner circle of friends and supporters is nil.

The Jackson myth begins with a lie conjured and perpetuated by Jackson himself: that he consoled the dying Martin Luther King Jr., holding King's head as he lay stricken by an assassin's bullet. It is generally well known that

Jesse Jackson by Ismael Roldan

King's associates, including the late Ralph Abernathy, have bitterly denounced Jackson for trying to steal the martyred King's mantle with a blatant falsehood. But that didn't stop Jackson, nor did it much matter to his legions of admirers. After King's death, Jackson returned to Chicago, where he resumed work with Operation Breadbasket (later renamed PUSH), an organization set up by King to encourage businesses in the black community to hire more blacks.

Jackson used the organization to threaten businesses with boycotts unless owners met his demands. Law-enforcement officials and press accounts quoted by Timmerman reveal that Jackson's enforcers were sometimes members of a notorious black street gang, El Rukn, whose leaders would eventually be jailed for murder, narcotics dealing, extortion, and other offenses. Jackson's half-brother, Noah Robinson Jr., was thick with the thugs. A black Chicago minister tells Timmerman: "There was one very powerful reason why none of us spoke out more loudly against Jesse for all those years. It was fear of the long arm of the black mafia that Jesse's half-brother controlled."

At this point, the reader stops to ask himself: What white American political figure in this day and age could be so closely associated with a bunch of murdering mafiosi, and still have any kind of public standing? It is generally believed that Democrat Mario Cuomo never ran for president for fear that possible—though unproven—mob ties in his wife's family's background would become an issue. Jackson's *personal* mob ties are a matter of public record, and he ran for president twice. But be warned: If you stop to ask yourself the "Could a white guy get away with this?" question every time you run across an egregious example of Jackson derring-do, you'll never finish the book.

The most interesting parts of *Shakedown* report on these early years in Chicago, in which Jackson first employed his techniques for mau-mauing businesses; milking political ties for government grants and set-aside contracts; financing Jesse, Inc., through the shadow support of wealthy donors; and intimidating black journalists who dared question his way of doing business. These are not substantially different from the way Jackson conducts his affairs today, except for one thing: He no longer has to intimidate journalists, black or white. A press that was much more critical of Jackson in his early years, when he wasn't much more than a Chicago street hustler ("Jesse Jetstream," they called him), has become utterly supine today—even though Jackson's race-based shakedown schemes earn him and his cronies sums they couldn't have imagined in those Chicago days.

It's remarkable, too, to read how little Jackson cared about the people he claimed to speak for: poor blacks. To use just one of Timmerman's examples: Sam McBride, a black service-station owner, was stung by the IRS in the mid 1970s for ripping off customers. "Instead of denouncing McBride for ripping off black consumers, Jackson invited McBride to address the weekly Saturday meeting at PUSH headquarters, where Jackson called him a 'victim of the oil monopoly's exploitation,'" Timmerman writes. McBride and his friends were then in a

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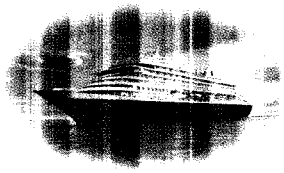


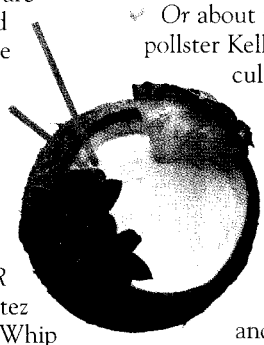
THE NATIONAL REVIEW 2002 POST-ELECTION MEXICO CRUISE

Sailing November 16–23 aboard Holland America's MS *Ryndam* with

KENNETH STARR, MILTON FRIEDMAN, WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR., ARTHUR LAFFER, KATE O'BEIRNE, RICH LOWRY, CAL THOMAS, KELLYANNE CONWAY, JAY NORDLINGER; HOUSE WHIP TOM DELAY AND FORMER VICE PRESIDENT DAN QUAYLE ALSO EXPECTED

Here's your special opportunity to take part in one of the most exciting seafaring adventures you will ever experience: the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise**. Featuring an incredible cast of conservative celebrity speakers—and extremely affordable accommodations—this special trip will take place November 16–23, 2002, aboard Holland America Line's stunning MS *Ryndam*.

This is a *unique* opportunity to meet America's most preeminent conservative celebrities: "Definites" for this special voyage are Judge **Kenneth Starr**, economists **Milton Friedman** and **Arthur Laffer**, columnist **Cal Thomas**, and ace conservative pollster **Kellyanne Conway** (a.k.a. Kellyanne Fitzpatrick). They'll be joining *NR* founder **William F. Buckley Jr.**, Editor **Rich Lowry**, Washington Editor **Kate O'Beirne**, and Managing Editor **Jay Nordlinger** for seven relaxing days and nights of politics and policy, conservative revelry, and world-class luxury cruising.



Also "strongly interested" in joining the hundreds of *NR* readers who'll take our trip to the sun-drenched Sea of Cortez are former Vice President **Dan Quayle** and House Majority Whip **Tom DeLay**. Without question, that's an *incredible* line-up.

Not only will our Mexico sojourn feature a spectacular speaker ensemble—it will also be the most affordable *NR* voyage ever (this will be our 12th!). If you've never been on an *NR* cruise make this your *first:* Prices start at an *incredibly* low $1,999!

An *NR* cruise is your chance to meet and intimately discuss politics and policy with some of the true giants of conservative affairs. Our exciting seminars—we've scheduled five panel sessions on our Mexico sojourn—allow for ample audience "Q & A," providing a scintillating take on current events. Imagine:

- Where does one even begin to ask Ken Starr questions?!
- Who better than renowned Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman and Arthur Laffer—the man behind that most famous of curves—to discuss America's fiscal health?!
- Can you get better insight on the Bush administration and the prosecution of the War on Terrorism than from Dan Quayle?!
- Or about what is really happening on Capitol Hill than from Tom DeLay?!
- *Or* about the public's mood on major issues than from ace pollster Kellyanne Fitzpatrick?!—*or* better analysis on America's culture conflicts than from columnist Cal Thomas?!

These conservative giants will be joined in political elucidating and sharp-shooting by *NR*'s editorial heavyweights, led by William F. Buckley Jr., who will be ably assisted by Rich Lowry, Kate O'Beirne, and Jay Nordlinger.

On top of the exclusive "extras" *NR* offers—seminars and social events (we'll have three cocktail receptions and two late-night poolside "smokers" featuring **H. Upmann** cigars), and intimate dining with speakers—is a *great* cruise on a *great* ship. The *Ryndam* is one of the more beloved vessels of Holland America Line (which readers of *Travel & Leisure* last year voted the world's Highest-Rated Premium Cruise Line!).

On the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise** you'll find the *Ryndam*'s accommodations (spacious and elegant staterooms, and glamorous public spaces teeming with antiques) to be truly luxurious, and matched by the indulgent, courteous staff, superior cuisine, and top-notch entertainment and excursions.

A FANTASTIC WEEK OF FUN, SUN, AND CONSERVATIVE REVELRY

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENTS
Sat./Nov. 16	San Diego		6:00PM	
Sun./Nov. 17	AT SEA			afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Mon./Nov. 18	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night poolside smoker
Tues./Nov. 19	Loreto	7:00AM	5:00PM	
Wed./Nov. 20	Pichilingue/La Paz	8:00AM	6:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Thurs./Nov. 21	Cabo San Lucas	7:00AM	4:00PM	afternoon seminar late-night smoker
Fri./Nov. 22	AT SEA			afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Sat./Nov. 23	San Diego	8:00AM		

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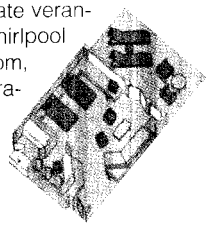
SPECTACULAR STATEROOMS STARTING AT ONLY $1,999 P/P!

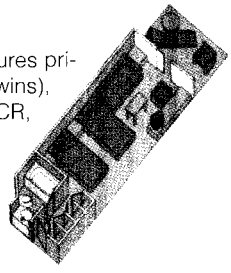
Travel experts agree: Holland America Line offers high-valued premium cruising. Superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment await you on the beautiful *Ryndam*. Prices are per-person, based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, transfers (for those booking airfare through HAL), all meals, entertainment, and admittance to and participation in all *National Review* functions. Rates for third/fourth person in cabin: $1,199 p/p for ages 2 and older, $752 p/p for children younger than 2.

SUITE Luxury quarters (563 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, floor-to-ceiling windows, dressing room, large sitting area, sofa bed, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, concierge servce, complimentary personalized stationery, hors d'oeuvres, dry cleaning, and more, plus special disembarkation privileges.



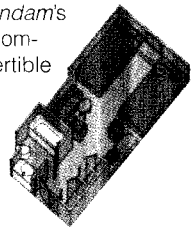
Category S
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,599 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 5,999

MINI SUITE Large stateroom (284 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), sofa bed, whirlpool bath/shower, sitting area, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows.



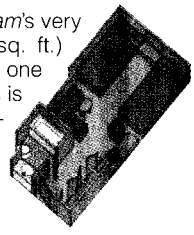
Categories A and B
"A" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,999 P/P
"A" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,599
"B" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,899 P/P
"B" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,299

LARGE OUTSIDE STATEROOM The *Ryndam*'s large "Outside Staterooms" (197 sq. ft.) are comfortable and feature a queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), a large picture window, plus bath/shower combination.



Category D
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,499 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,999

LARGE INSIDE STATEROOM The *Ryndam*'s very accommodating "Inside Staterooms," (182 sq. ft.) offer 2 twin beds that are convertible to one queen-size bed, plus a bath with shower. This is a very affordable category designed to provide you with maximum comfort.



Category K
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 1,999 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,599

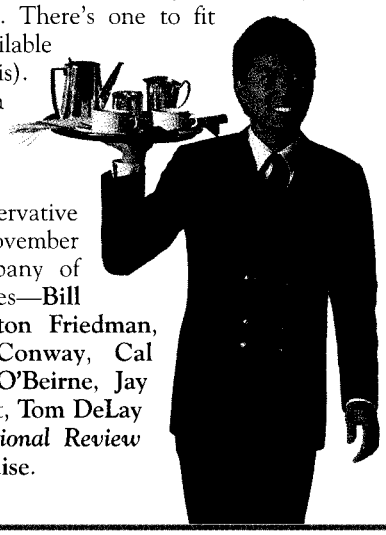
You'll want to join us for the exciting political discussions, the luxurious cruise experience, and the rest and relaxation you so richly deserve. *And* for the remarkable destinations. The ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise** will feature a balmy itinerary, starting in San Diego and—over seven glorious days around the "Baja California Sur"—visiting beautiful **Loreto, La Paz** (and nearby **Pichilingue**) and **Cabo San Lucas** (plus scenic cruising of "Sierra de la Giganta"). Here are some port highlights:

LORETO: *Frommer's Mexico 2002* guide puts it best: Loreto "is a rare gem that sparkles under the desert sky. Here, the purple hues of the Giganta Mountains meet the indigo waters of the Sea of Cortez, providing a spectacular backdrop of natural contrasts for the town's historical past." Site of the first mission in the Californias (*Mision Nuestra Señora de Loreto* and *Museo de las Misiones* are must-sees) and the first European settlement on the Baja, Loreto remains, says *Frommer's*, "the wonderfully funky fishing village and well-kept secret that it has been for decades."

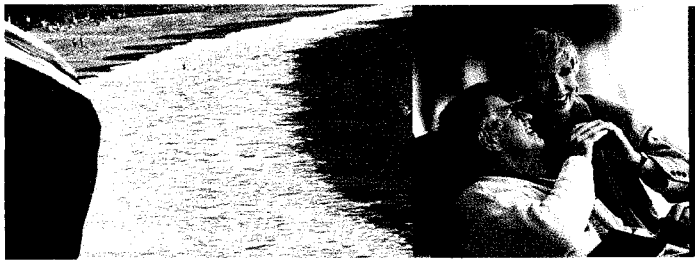
LA PAZ/PICHILINGUE: "La Paz," says *Frommer's*, "means 'peace,' and the feeling seems to float on the ocean breezes" here. It "remains slow-paced and relaxed . . . an easy-going sophisticated city and the guardian of 'old Baja' atmosphere, with beautiful deserted beaches just minutes away that compliment the lively beach and malecón that fronts the town center." Best known from John Steinbeck's *The Pearl*, La Paz—a haven for kayaking, fishing, and diving (you can even swim with sea lions off Espíritu Santo and Los Islotes)—is "the undisputed adventure capital of Baja."

CABO SAN LUCAS: Once renowned for big-game fishing, Cabo San Lucas is now a mecca for golf (there are Jack Nicklaus- and Robert Trent Jones-designed courses here—we'll be setting up an exclusive *NR* outing for any wanna-duffers), kayaking, and superior "R&R"-ing on gorgeous beaches.

Over 50 cabins have been reserved by *NR* cruise "alumni" (they come back again and again because of the wonderful experiences our trips provide). Sign up today and join them for on what will be one of the best weeks you will ever enjoy. Just fill out the application form on the following page, and return it (by mail or fax) so you can secure your stateroom. There's one to fit everyone's taste and budget (available on a first come, first served basis). You'll also find pricing on Holland America's affordable "Fly Cruise" airfare program.



Take part in a truly special conservative event. Join us in Mexico this November on the *Ryndam*, in the company of America's leading conservatives—**Bill Buckley, Kenneth Starr, Milton Friedman, Arthur Laffer, Kellyanne Conway, Cal Thomas, Rich Lowry, Kate O'Beirne, Jay Nordlinger**, and, we're confident, **Tom DeLay** and **Dan Quayle**—on the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise**.



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National Review 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise Application

Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1307 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067-5409 or Fax to 770-916-1425

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

Personal

Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #1 (full legal name) + Nickname

Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #2 (full legal name) + Nickname

Names #3 & #4 (if taking others in your cabin)

Street Mailing Address

( )

City State ZIP

Daytime Phone

Special Information (medical conditions, celebrating anniversary, etc.)

Payment

A deposit of $700 per cabin is due with this application. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis. *Suites are limited!*

☐ My deposit of $350 per person is included.
(Make checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Expiration Date (Month) ☐☐ (Year) ☐☐

Each time you use the National Review *credit card to make a purchase, the card's issuer, MBNA America Bank, N.A., will make a contribution to* National Review.

Authorized Signature of Cardholder/Guest

Information and price quote on Cancellation Fee Waiver/Medical Insurance will accompany your statement. Cancellation Penalty Schedule follows (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated):

PRIOR *to June 14, 2002*	*$50 per person*	
June 14, 2002 to Augus16, 2002	*$350 per person*	
AFTER *August 16, 2002*	*100% of cruise/package*	04/08/NR

Cruise

(All rates are per person, double occupancy, and include all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.)

PLEASE CHECK ALL APPLICABLE BOXES!

I. CABIN CATEGORY *(see list and prices on previous page)*

First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ Twin ☐ King/Queen

BOOKING SINGLE? ☐ Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: ____)

II. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to and from San Diego.
☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see list below).
☐ We need to purchase transfers from the airport to the ship at $20 per person.

III. GENERAL INFORMATION

CITIZENSHIP: Is everyone a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If No, indicate citizenship: _____
DINING: I wish to dine with _____

DINNER: ☐ 8:15PM ☐ 6:15PM (conflicts with dining with speakers/events)

IV. PRE- AND POST-CRUISE TOUR PACKAGES

☐ Please send me information on pre-/post-cruise packages in San Diego.

Important

Everyone cruising will be required to bring either a valid passport OR a certified birth certificate (with raised seal!), plus photo ID. Failure to do so may result in being denied boarding of the *Ryndam*. Children do not require photo ID.

Responsibility: Notice is hereby given that the cruise advertised herein, including all tickets, vouchers and coupons issued and all arrangements for transportation or conveyance or for hotel or lodging or for sightseeing services are made by H20 Ltd. d/b/a The Cruise Authority (TCA) on behalf of National Review, as agency for Holland America Line (HAL), and/or service providers and/or suppliers providing services necessary for operation of the tour upon the express condition that TCA shall not be liable for injury, damage, loss, accident, delay or irregularity to any tour participant or his or her property that may result from any act or omission of any company, contractor or employee thereof providing services in connection with the tour, including but not limited to transportation, lodging, food and beverage, entertainment, sightseeing, luggage handling and tour guiding. Furthermore, TCA cannot be held responsible for delays or costs incurred resulting from weather and road connections, breakdowns, strikes, riots, acts of God, authority of law or other circumstances beyond its control. In the event that a participant be entitled to a refund of monies paid, TCA will not be liable in excess of amount paid. TCA reserves the right to decline any persons as a tour participant at any time. TCA is not responsible for price increases imposed by HAL and/or service providers. Such increases may be implemented prior to deposit received. TCA is not responsible for breach of contract or any intentional or careless actions or omissions on the part of HAL and/or service providers, such as suppliers of tours or other services used or obtained on or at the time of the cruise or shore excursions, which result in any loss, damage, delay or injury to you or your travel companions or group members. TCA does not guarantee any of such suppliers rates, booking or reservations and TCA shall not be responsible for any social or labor unrest, mechanical or construction difficulties, diseases, local laws, climate conditions, abnormal conditions or developments or any other actions, omissions or conditions outside of TCA's control. TCA, nor National Review shall be responsible for the accessibility, appearance, actions or decisions of those individuals promoted for this cruise. By embarking upon his or her travel, the traveler voluntarily assumes all risks, and is advised to obtain appropriate insurance coverage against them. Retention of tickets, reservations, or package after issuance shall constitute a consent to the above and an agreement on your part to convey the contents hereof to your travel companions.

AIR TRAVEL: Let us make your air travel arrangements with **Holland America's "Fly Cruise" Program**, which offers a convenient air program that includes round-trip, economy-class air transportation (First Class air is available on request; you can use frequent flyer points to upgrade these airfares to First Class, and all baggage transfers, from the following cities:

AL	Birmingham	669	FL	Jacksonville	549	KS	Wichita	549	MO	Springfield	619	NC	Raleigh/Durham	689	SC	Columbia	689	VA	Richmond	689
	Huntsville	679		Miami	599	KY	Lexington	619		St. Louis	559	OK	Oklahoma City	619		Greenville	689		Roanoke	689
	Mobile	599		Orlando	599		Louisville	619	MT	Billings	519		Tulsa	619	TX	Amarillo	619	WA	Seattle	379
AR	Little Rock	549		Pensacola	689	LA	Baton Rouge	619	NE	Omaha	619	OH	Akron	619		Austin	559		Spokane	479
AZ	Phoenix	289		Tampa	609		New Orleans	549	NV	Las Vegas	309		Cincinnati	549		Corpus Christi	549	WI	Madison	619
	Tucson	289	GA	Augusta	689		Shreveport	619		Reno	289		Cleveland	559		Dallas/Ft. Worth	539		Milwaukee	549
CA	Fresno	319		Atlanta	599	ME	Bangor	689	NJ	Newark	609		Columbus	539		El Paso	549			
	Los Angeles	259	HI	Honolulu	809		Portland	689	NM	Albuquerque	519		Dayton	619		Houston (IAH)	539		CANADA ($USD)	
	Oakland	289	ID	Boise	519	MD	Baltimore	599	NY	Albany	689		Toledo	619		Lubbock	619		Calgary	589
	Sacramento	289	IL	Chicago	549	MA	Boston	669		Binghamton	669	OR	Medford	369		Midland/Odessa	579		Edmonton	589
	San Francisco	289		Peoria	619		Worcester	689		Buffalo	679		Portland	379		San Antonio	539		Montreal	669
	San Jose	289		Springfield	619	MI	Detroit	549		New York	609	PA	Allentown	609	TN	Chattanooga	619		Ottawa	679
CO	Col. Springs	519	IN	Evansville	619		Grand Rapids	619		Rochester	689		Harrisburg	689		Knoxville	619		Quebec	719
	Denver	529		Ft. Wayne	619	MN	Mnpls/St. Paul	559		Syracuse	6859		Philadelphia	599		Memphis	619		Toronto	659
CT	Hartford	609		Indianapolis	549		Rochester	619	NC	Asheville	679		Pittsburgh	599		Nashville	619		Vancouver	439
DC	Washington	609	IA	Cedar Rapids	619	MS	Jackson	669		Charlotte	679	RI	Providence	689	UT	Salt Lake City	459		Victoria	559
FL	Fort Lauderdale	609		Des Moines	559	MO	Kansas City	549		Greensboro	689	SC	Charleston	689	VA	Norfolk	669		Winnipeg	619

IMPORTANT NOTES: 1. These air add-ons apply to the cruise or cruise + pre- or post-cruise package. All transfers for air/sea passengers are included. 2. Should you elect to provide your own air transportation, note that transfers from the airport to the Ryndam (Port of San Diego near downtown) are not included; the distance from airport to cruise ship is very close. Schedule your arrival in San Diego leaving plenty of time for flight delay! You should arrive in San Diego no later than 2:00pm on November 16th. Your return flight from San Diego should not be arranged before 11:00am on November 23rd. 3. Should you wish to deviate your air from the "standard" schedule, Holland America Line charges $50pp for this service. All requests must be sent in writing to The Cruise Authority. Air deviation fees are non-refundable. 4. Any special seat assignments or other requests must be made directly with the participating air carrier. You will receive your air schedule approximately 30 days prior to departure date. 5. Transfers are available for purchase from the San Diego airport for $20 per person, and must be arranged for in advance via The Cruise Authority.

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position to become regular donors to Jackson's organization. When black journalists Angela Parker and Barbara Reynolds wrote investigative reports critical of Jackson's operations, he threatened them in baldly racial terms. ("No white reporter tells it all, and neither should you," he told Reynolds.)

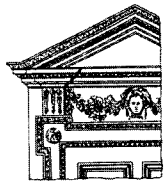
When Jimmy Carter came into office, Jackson got his organizations on the government-grant gravy train by having them declared service providers for welfare programs. He contrived do-good schemes, such as one for lifting school marks and lowering violence among urban black youth, which government evaluators later found to be ineffective. But the media puffery was just beginning: Jackson convinced Dan Rather to do a flattering *60 Minutes* piece on his PUSH-Excel program. The report legitimized Jackson overnight, and—in turn—opened up the multimillion-dollar floodgates of government largesse, courtesy of the Carter administration.

Jesse's less respectable half-brother, Noah Robinson, was also looting government programs designed to help minorities, specifically minority businesses, by offering contracts set aside for blacks only. Robinson, who would later be sentenced to life in prison for complicity in a murder, freely admitted to the *Chicago Tribune* that he was bilking the taxpayer (and honest blacks). Writes Timmerman: "Robinson spoke more freely than Jackson, but the two shared the same ethics. They were special. It didn't matter if they told bald-faced lies, or if their actions harmed black businesses and cost jobs to black workers. They were playing race politics and were out to get what the white government owed them. Someone else would pick up the tab."

Before he was outed last year as the father of a "love child," the heaviest hit to Jackson's public reputation came during his 1984 run for president, when—in a chat with a black reporter for the *Washington Post*—he called New York City "Hymietown." It was not a one-time slip of an anti-Semitic tongue. Jackson had by then built up a long public record of Jew-bashing, much of it connected to his public embrace of Yasser Arafat, once described by Jackson as "the friend of justice and humanity." One never hears about this anymore. Nor does one ever hear about Jackson's close personal and professional association with Jack O'Dell, a Communist operative who was for years one of Jackson's most influential policy advisers.

A little contrast will be helpful here. Charles Pickering was just rejected by the Democrat-controlled Senate for alleged racial insensitivity and purported affiliation with a racist organization—*when he was in college in the 1950s*. As a grown man, Jesse Jackson complained about Jewish conspiracies, embraced Palestinian terrorists, and allowed a bona fide Communist into his inner circle—and nobody cares. *Shakedown* makes it clear that there is a racial double standard in America, just not the one Jesse Jackson thinks.

Though the Reagan years were mildly tough on Jackson—the administration investigated the finances of Jackson's organizations—the return of the Democrats to office in 1992 sent Jackson into the stratosphere in terms of his finances and personal prestige. Timmerman takes us through Jackson's rise as a self-appointed diplomat, culminating in his being appointed Clinton's "special envoy" to Africa—a position he parlayed into rich commercial dividends for himself, his family, and his associates. Jackson's connection to William Kennard, who was chairman of the Federal Communications Commission under Clinton, helped Jackson squeeze large donations out of media companies in exchange for the endorsement of the Rainbow PUSH Coalition (as Jesse, Inc., was then called). And through his Wall Street Project, Jackson set himself up as an unofficial broker to the financial community, obtaining lucrative contracts for a small coterie of black financiers while offering racial absolution for white guilt to corporate titans.



Corporate America comes off badly in this book. There are only two heroes here: Both were business leaders who stood up to Jackson and refused to be bullied by his protection racket. Silicon Valley executive T. J. Rodgers told Jackson to take a hike a few years ago, and found his company denounced as a "white-supremacist hate group" by a Jackson surrogate. The world didn't end, and Jackson refused to take up Rodgers's challenge to debate him. The Nike shoe company similarly stood up to Jackson in the 1990s, and won.

According to Timmerman, in 1982, Anheuser-Busch—then run by Auggie Busch III—caused Jackson to call off a threatened boycott overnight by presenting him with a file detailing his luxurious lifestyle, secret financial arrangements, and other potentially embarrassing facts. But what Timmerman doesn't report is that shortly thereafter, the beer giant pledged $320 million to minority causes. That's more in line with the strategy of Auggie Busch IV, who headed off another boycott threat by Jackson, this time in 1998, by awarding Jackson's sons a $40 million Budweiser distributorship in Chicago.

Shakedown contains little to nothing about Jackson's scandalous personal life, except to report that the revelation of his sexual liaison with Karin Stanford caused his fall from grace. Timmerman writes that he "never seriously pursued [sex] rumors during my own investigation because I felt the real scandal of Jesse Jackson's career was his public behavior." That's fair enough, but what is missing from the book is a broader perspective on Jackson the man, and a framework that would help readers assess his role in American society and race relations. Timmerman merely piles up facts, newspaper-style, in an attempt to crush Jackson's reputation under the weight of accumulated detail. He succeeds, certainly, and he has done us a great service by collecting the dossier on Jackson between two covers. It is impossible to read *Shakedown* and look at Jackson with anything but contempt and cynicism.

So the media will just have to ignore it. Though *Shakedown* hit No. 1 on Amazon.com, there have been no reviews as of this writing, and little public attention. Meanwhile, Jackson soldiers on. The love-child scandal did not deter Toyota from settling a ridiculous bias claim with him, at the cost of hundreds of millions of dollars. And Timmerman reports that Jackson appears to be moving into new territory: mau-mauing pension-fund managers, and establishing a lucrative new partnership with lawyer Johnnie Cochran, who is devising a plan to shake down corporations with race-based class-action suits. For Jesse Jackson, there is every reason in the world to keep hope alive. **NR**

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Rough Trade

BRINK LINDSEY

Free Trade Under Fire, by Douglas A. Irwin (Princeton, 257 pp., $27.95)

IN *The Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith expressed doubt that his devastating critique of mercantilist protectionism would ever be heeded. "To expect, indeed, that the freedom of trade should ever be entirely restored in Great Britain," he wrote, "is as absurd as to expect that Oceana or Utopia should ever be established in it. Not only the prejudices of the public, but what is much more unconquerable, the private interests of many individuals, irresistibly oppose it."

Smith sold himself short. In 1846, seven decades after he wrote, the abolition of the Corn Laws brought free trade to Great Britain, and under British influence trade barriers around the world began to fall. Although free trade suffered terrible reversals during the first half of the 20th century, it has steadily regained and extended its domain over the course of recent decades. In the agency of the World Trade Organization, its ideals—if not its full-fledged practice—are now recognized around the globe.

But Smith was certainly right to give the protectionist devil his due. Two and a quarter centuries later, popular prejudice and private interests remain formidable adversaries to the cause of open markets. Protectionism lives on in an undrainable swamp of invincible ignorance: The same tired old half-truths and fallacies are dredged up anew with each generation to serve the special pleadings of free trade's opponents. Supporters of international competition can never claim final victory; on the contrary, they must resign themselves to unrelenting combat against bad ideas and bad policies that have, in other guises, been dispatched many times before.

Which is why the publication of Douglas Irwin's *Free Trade Under Fire* is such a welcome event. Irwin, a professor at Dartmouth, is that happy exception among economists: one who writes clear, jargon-free English. In this slender volume, he reviews the gamut of current misconceptions about trade and patiently, politely dismantles the lot of them. For all those who've been bamboozled by one or another of the accusations now hurled against open markets, or who doubt those accusations but don't have the facts and figures to respond to them effectively, *Free Trade Under Fire* has come to the rescue.

■

America isn't rich because we have jobs that pay well; rather, jobs pay well here because we are productive.

■

Irwin is particularly effective at addressing the meat-and-potatoes protectionism now advanced most vigorously by organized labor and the steel and textile lobbies. According to that mindset, imports are the enemy of ordinary, hard-working Americans: They threaten existing jobs and drive down wages by forcing us to compete with Third World nations where workers make only a few dollars a day. As Irwin shows, all the claims that imports reduce the total number of jobs by this much or that much are pure eyewash. Trade flows don't affect aggregate employment one way or the other: The total number of jobs depends first and foremost on population. On that score, Irwin provides a wonderful graph showing employment climbing in tandem with the civilian labor force for the past 50 years.

Of course, there is always a gap between the number of job seekers and the number of job holders—it's called the unemployment rate. However, as documented in another handy graph, unemployment actually tends to fall when imports and the trade deficit (the excess of imports over exports) are rising. A trade deficit, far from being a cause of economic problems, is actually a consequence of good news. As the economy surges (and unemployment falls), people have more money to spend on imported merchandise.

While trade doesn't affect how many jobs there are, it does have an impact on the kinds of jobs people have. And that impact is decidedly positive. To understand why, it is necessary to grasp the basic relationship between productivity, on the one hand, and wages and living standards, on the other. In the protectionist view, Americans are rich because they have high-paying jobs; anything that threatens any of those good jobs—like foreign competition—is therefore a threat to our standard of living.

But this is precisely backwards. We aren't a rich country because we have jobs that pay well; rather, jobs pay well here because we are a rich—or, more precisely, a productive—country. Because of the treasure troves of capital, tangible and intangible, that have accumulated and been invested here over time, the productivity of American labor is very high. Wages and living standards are a function of productivity. Once again, Irwin provides a chart that tells the story—one that shows labor productivity and real compensation rising in lockstep since 1960.

The effect of trade, meanwhile, is to shift resources—capital and labor—into those sectors in which Americans are relatively most productive. Less productive industries shrink in the face of foreign competition, or else improve their performance to fend off the foreign challenge. And more productive industries expand, to serve export markets as well as domestic customers. The net result: higher productivity, and wages and living standards, for the country as a whole.

It's true that workers sometimes lose their jobs to foreign competition. And some of those displaced workers never find jobs as good as the ones they lost. That's the hard truth: International trade creates losers as well as winners. But let's put the downside in perspective.

Consider the American textile and apparel industry, which has been in the crosshairs of foreign competitors for many years. Irwin recounts a study of dis-

Mr. Lindsey is director of the Cato Institute's Center for Trade Policy Studies and author of *Against the Dead Hand: The Uncertain Struggle for Global Capitalism*.

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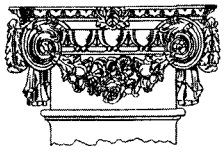
placed textile and apparel workers in North Carolina. Of those workers who lost their jobs between 1986 and 1992, 91 percent of textile workers and 86 percent of apparel workers eventually found other jobs—somewhat below the reemployment rate of 94 percent for manufacturing industries as a whole. But while displaced manufacturing workers generally (including all those who lost their jobs for reasons other than foreign competition) experienced a 10 percent pay cut in their new jobs, former textile workers earned 99 percent of their old wages, and former apparel workers actually averaged a 22 percent pay raise.



The problem of displaced workers is real, but it is in no way unique to trade. At the heart of the market economy's dynamism is Schumpeterian "creative destruction"—and it can get a little messy. However, most Americans understand—in the purely domestic context, at least—that the opportunities created by competition more than make up for the turmoil. Nobody sheds many tears for bank tellers put out of work by ATM machines, or receptionists laid off because of voice mail; job churn generated by technological progress is an accepted fact of life. In the end, protectionist arguments rely on a baseless double standard—that, somehow, it's worse to lose your job to a foreigner than to a machine.

Irwin also takes on the more voguish grounds for closing markets—in particular, that international competition promotes environmental degradation and abusive labor practices. Irwin turns the tables and shows how the waste of resources caused by trade barriers includes natural resources as well. For example, agricultural protectionism works to shift farm production to countries with less favorable growing conditions, thereby encouraging the overuse of pesticides and fertilizers.

As to labor abuses, none is more heartrending than the economic exploitation of children—a grim fact of life in many poor countries. But will trade restrictions against those countries help, or simply make matters worse? According to Irwin, only about 5 percent of child labor worldwide is in export-oriented industries; poverty, not trade, is at the root of this problem. Consequently, banning imports made with child labor might make us feel good, but it's unlikely to help the children thrown out of work. In Bangladesh, according to an Oxfam researcher, roughly 30,000 of the 50,000 children working in textile factories were fired between 1993 and 1994 because their employers feared reprisals from customers concerned about human rights. Most of those children wound up far worse off as a result—in prostitution, or dangerous jobs like welding.

There's a great deal more packed into the pages of *Free Trade Under Fire*—including a thoughtful analysis of the extent of globalization, a scathing review of America's protectionist trade laws (including the Section 201 law used recently to slam steel imports), and a sturdy defense of the beleaguered World Trade Organization. Irwin hasn't drained the protectionist swamp—that's a task that would have bested Hercules. But he has lent great assistance to the more realistic project of containing and ameliorating its pestilence. **NR**

Beyond His Ken

BYRON YORK

Starr: A Reassessment, by Benjamin Wittes (Yale, 256 pp., $24.95)

REMEMBER when James Carville called Kenneth Starr a "yahoo" who spent his time singing hymns and plotting "to wash all sodomites and fornicators out of town"? Remember when Maureen Dowd portrayed Starr as a sex-mad Puritan who couldn't stop thinking about Monica Lewinsky's thong underwear? Remember when every liberal commentator worth a spot on cable TV compared Starr to the heartless Inspector Javert?

In this new book, Benjamin Wittes, an editorial writer for the *Washington Post*, revisits what he calls the "demonic caricature" of Starr that emerged dur-

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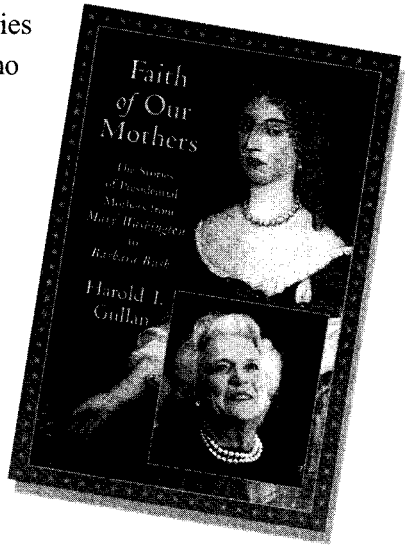

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ing the Lewinsky scandal. He also reviews the far less popular opinion, held by some on the right, that Starr was a "martyr to the rule of law." Concluding that both visions are wrong, Wittes tries to come up with a Third Way of looking at Starr's tenure as independent counsel.

And what he comes up with is this: Starr was "simply the wrong man for the job" of investigating Bill Clinton. It's hard to imagine Carville, Dowd, or any of Starr's enemies disagreeing with that, but Wittes works hard to make a more complex argument than the demonizers did in 1998. Starr, he writes, was unsuited for the task not because he was a religious zealot or a sex maniac or the leader of a right-wing coup d'état—Wittes defends Starr against all those charges—but because he fundamentally misunderstood the independent-counsel law. Wittes writes that Starr, rather than seeing the independent counsel's job as "a conventional criminal investigation," conceived of it as "a kind of truth commission." That misconception—"Starr's original sin"—led Starr to believe that he had a "license to conduct the broadest of inquiries, an investigation that he never intended to use chiefly as a vehicle for punishing crimes." The result was a "terrifying probe."

Wittes writes that after impressive early success—in which the independent counsel won fraud convictions against Clinton business partners Jim and Susan McDougal, along with then Arkansas governor Jim Guy Tucker—Starr's misreading of the law caused him to take several wrong turns. First, he prosecuted Susan McDougal for criminal contempt of court after she refused to answer his questions. Then he repeatedly indicted Webster Hubbell, the Clinton crony and former top Justice Department official. And finally, he mishandled the Lewinsky matter, passing up a quick immunity deal with Lewinsky and instead embarking on a grueling battle with the Clinton White House.

Wittes argues that, in each instance, if Starr had not been so obsessed with finding the truth—as opposed to simply deciding whether criminal charges were warranted—he would have evaluated his situation, decided that there were some facts he simply could not uncover no matter how long he tried, and moved on. Susan McDougal, Wittes writes, "had emphasized for the better part of two years that she would never cooperate with Starr's team," and Starr should have let it go at that. Likewise, Hubbell was clearly not inclined to rat on the Clintons. And Lewinsky? Starr's attempts to learn what happened in that case "represented a triumph of truth-commission values over prosecutorial interests."

■

Wittes writes that Starr saw the independent counsel's job as 'a kind of truth commission.'

■

But did they? Wittes's need to fit each case into his truth-commission critique leads him to underemphasize the real-world dilemmas in which Starr found himself. In the case of Susan McDougal, for example, Starr brought her before a grand jury, gave her immunity, and asked her a simple question: "To your knowledge, did William Jefferson Clinton testify truthfully during the course of your trial?" McDougal refused to answer, and Judge Susan Webber Wright ordered her jailed for contempt of court in the hope that she would change her mind about testifying. She didn't, and remained behind bars for 18 months. By then, prosecutors had found new evidence, including a Whitewater-era check with the words "payoff Clinton" on it, and brought McDougal back before the grand jury. "You do not have any right to ask me," McDougal said. "Mr. Starr should resign. That's my only answer to you."

One need not be a truth commissioner to believe that the McDougal case was a particularly egregious example of contempt of court. Starr charged her with two counts of criminal contempt and one count of obstruction of justice. In the end, a jury acquitted her on the obstruction count and deadlocked on the two contempt charges, and Starr decided not to retry the case. But a strong argument can be made that in indicting McDougal, Starr acted to protect the interests of justice, and not to satisfy his truth mania.

As for Hubbell, Starr learned—after Hubbell pled guilty to bilking his law-firm clients—that Hubbell received hundreds of thousands of dollars in White House-arranged, no-work business deals. At the same time, Starr's lawyers believed Hubbell was not fully living up to his agreement to cooperate with prosecutors. One need not be a truth commissioner to want to find out whether there is a connection between these two facts. While prosecuting Hubbell on tax charges was a bad idea—Starr was wrong to try to use documents that Hubbell had given him under an immunity deal—Starr's 1998 indictment of Hubbell on Whitewater charges, which Wittes believes proved that Starr's pursuit of Hubbell had "lapsed into absurdity," was in fact a solid criminal prosecution. Hubbell pled guilty.

Finally, in the Lewinsky case, Wittes concedes that Starr was confronted with evidence of "real criminality." Starr also had to deal with an emotionally volatile witness (Lewinsky) represented by an erratic and irresponsible lawyer (William Ginsburg), protecting a powerful target (Clinton), who resisted Starr with the help of two key witnesses (Vernon Jordan and Betty Currie) who almost certainly did not tell Starr's grand jury all they knew. Yes, Starr aggressively pursued the truth. But if he was to evaluate the core allegation—that Clinton lied under oath and acted

IMRAM

Every Irishman hates with all his heart
The hard rock of the world;
And I'm no different than Bran,
Preferring his marvelous island of Women
To the dry and bitter land—
That shrivels you into a mound of dust
The moment you return.

Let sly Ulysses sneak back home
To prop up his dynastic claim
To a barren hunk of real estate
Kept by a spider dame.
I'd feast there forever with Bran
Beside the glistening foam.
Only a fool would return.

—RICHARD O'CONNELL

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with Jordan and Currie to obstruct justice—he was going to have to ask a lot of people a lot of questions.

Although Wittes takes pains to point out that in each instance Starr had a good-faith, logical reason for his actions, he concludes that Starr's truth-commission approach caused him to overreach. "Neither the statute itself nor the legislative history of the original special-prosecutor legislation explicitly describes any truth-seeking function," Wittes writes. "Congress meant to create an office . . . that would conduct a traditional, albeit thorough, prosecutorial inquiry."

But how should Starr have investigated the accusations against the president and his circle without spending a great deal of time and effort trying to learn what was true and what was not? Remember that, for the most part, Starr was investigating allegations of perjury and obstruction of justice. The entire investigation hinged on whether the president and his friends had told the truth.

In addition, contrary to Wittes's argument, there is some evidence to suggest that Starr was doing precisely what Congress intended when it passed the independent-counsel law as part of its post-Watergate reforms in 1978. The law's authors were particularly concerned about perjury and obstruction of justice because they believed those were the crimes that future Nixons might engage in to keep secrets from the American people. In fact, Section 593(b)3 of the law, which laid out the scope of the independent counsel's jurisdiction, gave him the authority to prosecute any crimes that he might discover in the course of his investigation, "including perjury, obstruction of justice, destruction of evidence, and intimidation of witnesses." These were the only crimes specifically mentioned in the statute—and they all involved concealment of the truth.

Given that, one could make a pretty strong argument that Congress intended the independent counsel to be in significant measure a truth commissioner. It's a point Wittes comes close to conceding when he writes, with almost painful obviousness, that "Starr can reasonably hypothesize that Congress must have envisioned at some level that an investigation of the president involving possibly impeachable offenses would be a search for the truth about those allegations." Well, yes, it would.

Wittes concludes with a discussion of how future high-level investigations will work in the absence of the independent-counsel law, which expired in 1999. Wittes is not entirely happy that the statute is gone—after all, in his view, it was Starr's misreading of the law, and not the law itself, that was the problem. The law has now been replaced by procedures for the attorney general to appoint an old-style special prosecutor who will be more accountable to the executive branch. But there's no reason to believe that Wittes will be any happier with future investigations, especially if, as Congress envisioned in 1978, a president is accused of perjury, obstruction of justice, and other truth-concealing crimes. Somebody—call him a truth commissioner or call him a simple prosecutor—will have to get to the bottom of the case. **NR**

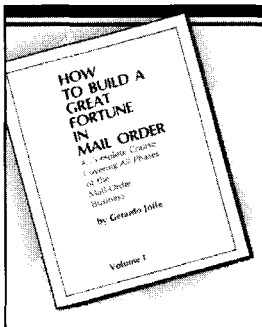
Hollander's Clear Eye

JAY NORDLINGER

Discontents: Postmodern & Postcommunist, by Paul Hollander (Transaction, 430 pp., $39.95)

WHEN you call the roll of the anti-Communists, you start with the great dissidents, leading off, almost surely, with Solzhenitsyn. Then, at some point, you turn to the scholars and writers in the West who told the truth about Communism, often at tremendous cost to themselves. One in this latter group is Paul Hollander.

Born in 1932, he is professor emeritus of sociology at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, where he has spent the bulk of his academic career. Among his most important books are



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Political Pilgrims, about the travels of Western intellectuals to the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba; *Anti-Americanism: Critiques at Home and Abroad*; and *Political Will and Personal Belief*, his analysis of the decline and fall of Soviet Communism.

In his current collection—about which more in a moment—Hollander notes that Communism has had its admirers and critics alike. "As a rule," he adds wryly, "the admirers have lived outside Communist states and the critics within." Hollander is one of those scholars and writers "in the West" who experienced Communism firsthand. He grew up in Hungary, and in 1944 had to go into hiding with his family. The twelve-year-old Jewish boy, imagining his own, imminent death, discussed with his father—who had been wounded in World War I—what it was like to be shot. When the Soviets came in, young Hollander welcomed them as liberators, and allied himself with Communism, the ideology of those liberators. Soon, however, he saw Communism for what it was—what it did to people, including himself and his family—and he has been clear-eyed ever since.

His new collection, *Discontents*, is both "domestic" and "foreign," which is to say that about half of it is devoted to American and Western ills, and the other half to Communist and post-Communist ills. The essays are drawn from an array of intellectual journals, most of them rather out of the way. There is one essay from NATIONAL REVIEW (1994), about Nazism and Communism, and why the latter has never been as despised among our elites as the former. Little more about this vexing subject need be said.

I have identified Hollander as an "anti-Communist," and he is certainly that, but he is a nearly all-purpose sociologist and intellectual, ranging far and wide. Few subjects in politics and social affairs seem to have escaped his attention. Hollander is as trenchant a commentator on O. J. Simpson as he is on Kim Il Sung. He dissects feminism, affirmative action, and various follies of the intellectuals, as well as Communism and its aftermath (in those places that are lucky enough to have an aftermath, rather than Communism itself). He would be called a conservative—not inaccurately—but he is not a pigeonholable conservative. For example, he thinks that the desire to own an SUV arises from "insecurity, power hunger, and status seeking," attitudes that "do not speak well of the maturity, sense of security, emotional health, or civic consciousness of huge numbers of Americans in the 1990s."

How about that?

That the United States should be full of "discontents" today is a curious matter. It is, as Hollander quotes Saul Bellow as writing, "cornucopia time, an era of abundance." But, cautions Hollander, this country's "unchallenged superpower status is also an invitation to envy, resentment, and hostility, as the recent growth of anti-Americanism in many parts of the world indicates." Americans, since September, are more awake to this fact than ever. Hollander goes on to state that "domestic improvements do not necessarily create widespread contentment. Human beings are ingenious enough to be dissatisfied under a wide variety of conditions (as the term 'relative deprivation' suggests)." Hollander often writes with the barely concealed contempt of one who has known real deprivation—and of one who has spent a lifetime studying the deprivation imposed on many millions of others.

■

Hollander is as trenchant a commentator on O. J. Simpson as he is on Kim Il Sung.

■

In myriad ways, Hollander takes on the Big Four, going by the names of "postmodernism," "political correctness," "multiculturalism," and "identity politics." He is especially good at divining the paradoxes of the New Orthodox. For instance, they are either insistently relativistic or insistently absolutist, depending on their political needs (and they hardly know it). Hollander is not a lot of laughs, but his remarks on the canceling of *West Side Story* by an Amherst high school are hilarious. He is likewise sharp on what he calls "selective determinism": that is, a black street tough who mugs a woman must have had a rough childhood (actually, *West Side Story* has something to say on this very matter: "I'm depraved on account I'm deprived!"); a redneck who attacks a black man has committed a "hate crime," and there is no understanding of him, but rather, he must be prosecuted and punished without mercy.

The essay on political correctness—"'Imagined Tyranny'?"—is a tour de force. PC, writes Hollander, "has emerged during the past decades as the most widespread form of institutionalized intolerance in American higher education" (and beyond). He cannot help scorning "a society of sturdy individualists fearful of disapproval by their fellows," and he marvels that "beliefs once unorthodox and iconoclastic have been turned into a prescriptive morality." Many of us are expert at tossing off examples of PC and holding them up to ridicule or lamenting them or shaking our heads. Hollander, however, asks why this phenomenon should be and delivers meaty answers. As with the Nazi-Communist essay, it is hard to imagine reading this PC essay and wanting to read anything else on the subject, ever again (unless, of course, you are a masochist).

Hollander is only slightly apologetic about his continuing preoccupation with Communism, anti-Communism, and anti-anti-Communism. He argues that "much remains to be learned about Communist systems, even if few of them survive and their supporting ideology has also been eroded and discredited." And he agrees with Michael Scammell that "the proper interpretation of Communism is very much a live issue." Indeed, the war with the "revisionists"—the down-players, the deniers, the misleaders—will go on for a very long time. Hollander will not "let go" of Communism, he promises, until he has done everything he can to give the subject the examination it deserves. Communism, even now, remains grossly under-studied or mis-studied.

"It is difficult to discuss the crimes of Communism," writes Hollander, "without morally rejecting Communism, and this is where the problem begins." Does it ever. The reluctance of Western elites to deal honestly with Communism has long been a sore point, and Hollander provides many reasons for this reluc-

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tance, some of them familiar, some of them less so. I found myself struck by one reason in particular: "Fear of nuclear war [played its part] in silencing criticism of the Soviet Union." I remember that, when a college student, I would venture questions on, say, the Gulag, and some of my professors and classmates reacted as though I by myself might trigger a nuclear conflagration. They practically looked to the heavens as they shushed me.

But "at last," writes Hollander,

> it may be that the kind of conformity detected in America by Tocqueville survives and helps to account for [anti-anti-Communism] even among supposedly iconoclastic academic intellectuals. Once certain conventions and beliefs become established and upheld by a vocal minority, few apparently have the stomach to challenge them and become unpopular in the circles in which they move. As the public expression of anti-Communist sentiments became both morally reprehensible and a matter of poor taste (in liberal circles), American intellectuals were not going to probe the crimes of Communism.

Hollander has the stomach—for anything. His book is packed with hard, unblinking truths, arrived at through hard, unblinking thought. He has something in common—temperamentally and intellectually—with Thomas Sowell, whom he enjoys quoting. Hollander (like Sowell) has never stopped reading, never stopped learning, never rested on his laurels. Actually, he has not received enough of those: laurels. Hollander has never quite been accorded his due, has always been underrated, or perhaps under-advertised. His writing tends to be dense, not the sort that can be read quickly. He does not go in for panache. He is an idea man, a logic man, uninterested in entertaining, free of artifice.

Discontents is a kind of omnibus; it is almost one-stop shopping for the understanding of our current afflictions. I expect to return to it repeatedly, for remembering arguments, for recharging batteries. Hollander has cut to the core of things. One gets the sense that, when it comes to these "discontents," this is not only the world according to Paul Hollander, but the world as it is. **NR**

■ CITY DESK ■

Temptation Island

RICHARD BROOKHISER

FOR five days a warehouse fire near the Jersey City entrance to the Holland Tunnel prevented inbound traffic from taking that route into Manhattan. It made vivid a fact that many New Yorkers ignore most of the time: We live on islands. Barry Goldwater famously wanted to saw off the eastern seaboard and let it float out to sea, but he was too late: Part of it had already gone.

Why should a major city huddle on islands? Even the Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel can be walked to at low tide. Booming settlements need a mainland. Water provides access, and so most cities locate on coasts or rivers. But access comes by land too, so the ambitious city typically does not want to be surrounded by water.

Manhattan is a moderate-sized offshore island of about 22 square miles. Staten Island, a game park for Republicans, is 60 square miles. Queens and Brooklyn occupy the western tip of a much larger mass, Long Island. Several islets dot the harbor and the threading waterways. But only the Bronx connects New Yorkers to terra firma.

For centuries the water was a playing field for boats. At rest alongside their piers, they spread out from lower Manhattan and Brooklyn like the fossilized feathers on the limbs of a flying dinosaur. If you came to the city from the west or the south, whether you were Countess Olenska meeting your lover, or George Washington coming to your first inauguration, you took a boat. When Jim Fisk and Jay Gould had to flee the warrant of a New York judge during their fight with Commodore Vanderbilt over control of the Erie Railroad, they bolted from Delmonico's restaurant, hired a skiff and two sailors to take them to New Jersey, and were nearly swamped by a ferry. Edna St. Vincent Millay was very tired and very merry on

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a boat. Theodore H. White quoted a machine pol using a ferry to explain to one of his lesser candidates why no efforts were being spent to advertise his virtues. Had he ever seen the garbage that floats in with the Staten Island ferry when it docks? the pol asked. Only the man at the top of the ticket is a ferryboat; the candidates under him are the garbage.

■

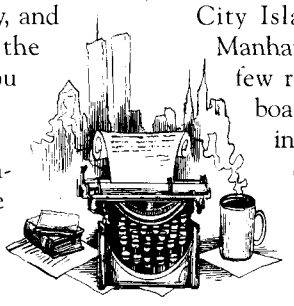
When non-New Yorkers are angry with us, they call us arrogant and parochial, but the mot juste is insular.

■

New Yorkers used to go to their shorelines to look at the boats, the water, and themselves looking. Melville saw them, "posted like silent sentinels . . . some looking over the bulwarks of ships from China; some high aloft in the rigging, as if striving to get a still better seaward peep." Whitman saw the New Yorkers of the future: "Just as you stand and lean on the rail, yet hurry with the swift current, I stood yet was hurried, / Just as you look on the numberless masts of ships and the thick-stemm'd pipes of steamboats, I look'd."

Whitman should have had his second sight checked, because today the ships are easily numbered. The Staten Island ferry still plies its way, and some newer ferries cross the Hudson. Now and then you will see a tug shoving a barge up the angry slop of the East River. But the container ships carrying the large cargoes don't come here—they go to Newark and Port Elizabeth—while smaller loads come into the city by truck, and commuters come by car and train, which means that goods and people travel above and beneath the water, not on it. Recent events have made these approaches seem vulnerable, though the fragility was always there. The cab that zips you out the Midtown Tunnel to LaGuardia airport and the No. 5 train that rattles to the Borough Hall stop in Brooklyn pass under earth, which is under a river. How many tons are over my head? Talk about the mines of Moria. The bridges, from the punky little spans with metal grillwork humming under the tires, to the Promethean gestures that are a continent's triumphal arches, do not harbor the same potential for claustrophobia. But if you fell from such heights, you would still land with a good smack, even in water. Every trip on- or off-island is an act of faith.

As the boats have gone, so has the attention of New Yorkers. Manhattan has turned inward, to its hunched back and the buildings that are its bristles. The only time I am aware that I live on an island is when a sea gull flies over Third Avenue, outside my window. Did ever a city make less use of its shoreline, for commerce, entertainment, or simple appreciation? New York's water-blindness is exemplified by the strange uses to which it puts its lesser islands. Governor's Island has two 19th-century forts and an old Coast Guard station of campus-like charm. But the Coast Guard has moved out, and no one quite knows what to do with the parcel. Roosevelt Island, in the East River, is home to a lugubrious development that looks like the World of Tomorrow as envisioned by the 1964 World's Fair. At the lower tip of the island stand the ruins of a hospital for chronic diseases; lost Mayan cities are in better shape. Riker's Island houses guests of the government. Hart's Island is a potter's field.



City Island once hoped to rival Manhattan, but all it can show is a few restaurants and some small boats that fish for the brown six-inch lobsters that are the prize of Long Island Sound.

The only place the islands survive is in our souls. When non-New Yorkers are angry with us, they call us arrogant and parochial, but the *mot juste* is insular. (We had a defensive wall once, too, whence the name Wall Street; we are the only major city in the United States to have been walled.) We have reason to be wary. We were attacked several times in the 17th century, once in the 18th, and again in the 21st. Nothing personal—we will happily take your money, and give you good value in return. But we know what You can do. **NR**

■ SHELF LIFE ■

In *Why We Fight: Moral Clarity and the War on Terrorism* (Doubleday, 170 pp., $19.95), William J. Bennett offers a patriotic exhortation to firmness in our current struggle. He speaks for an American consensus, one that goes beyond the traditional categories of the recent culture wars. Here, for example, he defends Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi, who had met a buzzsaw of criticism when he defended the West and its system of respect for pluralism:

> The irony is that the qualities of Western culture that Berlusconi picked especially to praise are the same qualities urged upon us by the relativists and diversity-mongers. Why is our civilization superior? he asked. Because it is "a system that has guaranteed well-being, respect for human rights and . . . respect for religious and political rights, a system that *has as its values understandings of diversity and tolerance*." Can anyone deny that these are indeed our regnant values, or that most Islamic countries do not share them?

Bennett is absolutely correct: Human rights, diversity, and tolerance are at the heart of what it means to be American. They are also universally valid principles, and the current war will help determine the survival and success of these principles, not just in the United States but worldwide.

Related to this is Bennett's sensible discussion of why America is right to continue to back the state of Israel. He quotes writer Norah Vincent: "If it weren't for our (and Israel's) culture of commitment to tolerance and the rule of law, to the use of violence only in self-defense and to the reaching of diplomatic solutions, the Palestinian people would have no cause at all. They would not exist." We are on the side of those who share our values, in the hope that more and more people—on all sides of the current conflict—will come to share those values: That's why we fight.

—Michael Potemra

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Billy Graham, Anti-Semitic?

NEW YORK, MARCH 19

THE one thing critics of Billy Graham have failed to come up with is a single act, a single syllable in the public career of Mr. Graham that could be interpreted as anti-Semitic. There can't be another living American whose day-by-day life has been more minutely examined. When did he say anything anti-Semitic? When did he egg on critics of the Jews? When did he by inflection, let alone declaration, seek to undermine the Jewish state?

When the words quoted in the Haldeman diaries were released in 1994, nobody paid any attention to them, and Graham said about them only that they could not have been his own words. Well, they were his own words, because the tape recording released a fortnight ago established this, so Mr. Graham was reduced simply to apologizing for having said them, and reiterating that manifestly they did not reveal sentiments he ever acted upon.

A few coordinates are worth looking at:

1) The words were spoken in the private company of the president of the United States. It is a human tendency to humor chiefs of state, and one way of doing this is to sort of go along with their moods and line of thought. Students laugh at headmasters' jokes. If President Nixon was going on about the Jews (as we know he sometimes did), you would expect the courtier impulses of his intimates to piggyback along. Leonard Garment and Henry Kissinger, if ever they are detected as having laughed at an anti-Semitic presidential joke, should be thought of as socially self-abnegating, rather than as anti-Semitic, always leaving room for the possibility that it was a good joke.

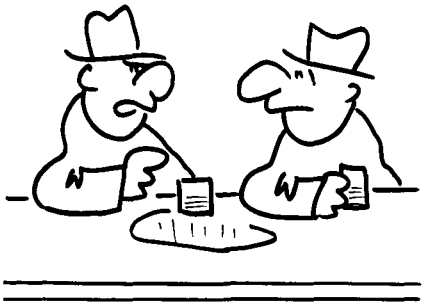
2) Mr. Graham's repudiation of what he said was terribly overdone. "I have never talked publicly or privately about the Jewish people, including in conversations with President Nixon, except in the most positive terms." The trouble with saying something like that is that it is simply unbelievable. It sounds like Clarence Thomas saying he had never discussed *Roe* v. *Wade* or had any thoughts about it. You'd have to be a castrate never to have talked "publicly or privately" about the Jewish people. How can you, without talking about them, intone some such sentiment as, "Those . . . lovely Jews voted 85 percent Democrat again!" Or, for that matter, "Those stupid Jews won all the Nobel Prizes again, as usual!"

3) Several people who know Graham intimately enough to have written his biography (William Martin of Rice University), or occupied a chair named after him (Lewis Drummond of Samford University), have given their opinion that the Nixon remarks to Graham were certainly centered about the subject of pornography. "They're the ones putting out the pornographic stuff," Mr. Graham said, "after agreeing with Mr. Nixon"—in the account of David Firestone of the *New York Times*—"that left-wing Jews dominate the news media." Now on this matter, a bit of research might be worth the trouble, research designed to explore whether stereotypes here were invidious. The conversation took place on February 1, 1972. Why did Nixon say that pornography was substantially a Jewish enterprise? What data, if any, was he relying on? Why did Graham agree with him? Was there in fact a top-heavy investment in pornography by Jewish entrepreneurs?

Since the Supreme Court, with the acquiescence of the majority of the American people, apparently deems pornography nothing more than an expression of free speech, what else can be said of those who engage in it than that they are swinging with the market? To have said in 1972 that pornographic entrepreneurs were heavily Jewish is different from saying such a thing as, "Only Jews would engage in pornography," which would be on the order of saying, "Only priests engage in pederasty." That would indeed would be anti-Semitic, but that sentiment was not recorded.

4) The reaction of Abraham Foxman, the head of the Anti-Defamation League, was reliably melodramatic and self-serving. "What's frightening is that he [Graham] has been so close to so many presidents, and who knows what else he has been saying privately." Like what? That the Protocols of Zion should be adopted in the curriculum of public schools? That Israel should be cut up and given to Syria?

Mr. Foxman urged Billy Graham to return the award he won in 1971 from the National Conference of Christians and Jews. If they did that to Billy Graham, after his lifetime of service to tolerance and charity and love, then you'd get something the impact of which would be anti-Semitic. I am proud to have an award from the Anti-Defamation League. If Graham returns his, I'll volunteer the return of mine.



"Don't you see?—It's all an international conspiracy to make *us paranoid."*

Who Killed Global Crossing?

NEW YORK, MARCH 22

THE preliminary inquiry into the causes of the bankruptcy of Global Crossing brought in a primary distinction: GC, Inc., was not Enron, Inc. Global Crossing's accounting could be criticized for the use of devices that in fact tell less than what, in retrospect, we know we should have wanted to know. But it appears that nothing was concealed, that if the "swap" convention is finally adjudged formally deceptive, blame for using it by Global Crossing is tendentious. The chief executive of the company, John J. Legere, spoke of his company as the victim of an industry-wide slump, aggravated by overcapacity and falling prices.

All of this will get attention, actuarial and political. But the implications of one exchange in the congressional hearing remind us of the eternal appeal of demagogy, as also of the dangers of enacting demagogic impulses. The question was asked of CEO Legere, what was his salary at GC? Legere stalled for a minute, but the congresswoman, Stephanie Tubbs Jones, would have no evasion and asked the question again

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raspily. Legere answered that his salary was $1.1 million. Jones asked what was the pay of the average GC worker. Legere gave the answer, $79,000. Jones: How many workers could have been kept on if your salary had been divided among them? All that Legere could think to say was that, "as a rule, I don't do math in public."

Congresswoman Jones should endeavor not to think in public. But what she *was* thinking, or trying to draw attention to, was the politics of envy. The argument ad populum is defined in the reference book *Modern English* as "an appeal to the emotions of the masses. The device is exemplified by the rabble-rouser who avoids presenting rational evidence against a proposition and shouts instead, 'Are we going to let them do that to us?' "

The bankrupt company, whose ambition was to wire the globe with fiber-optic tracery, spent $15 billion during its brief lifetime. Ms. Jones might as well have asked Legere, "How many CEOs could you get if you had hired just them, instead of producing fiber-optic glass?" The question would have been as preposterous as the question she did ask. The cost of the million-dollar executive has very little bearing on the fortunes of a 9,000-man company like Global Crossing. A more intelligent question of Mr. Legere might have been, "If GC had paid $2 million for a chief executive, instead of $1 million, might it have succeeded in getting a better man, whose greater skills might have saved the company?" But that would not have satisfied the appetites Ms. Jones was out there to inflame. She wanted, Soviet-style, to arouse the man who has only one cow by singling out the man who has 20 cows.

The concern for income polarity is both obsessive and thoughtless. The question of the "digital divide" is now fashionable. What it says is that computers have contributed to the polarization of wealth, on the grounds that computers diminish the need for clerical workers who, lacking employment, descend to a lower economic level.

Is this an argument against the use of computers? Mr. Robert Samuelson of *Newsweek* magazine reminds us that the use of computers is no longer the reserve of the wealthy—there is now a computer for every four schoolchildren in the United States. Those who seek class antagonisms could theoretically argue that education itself is a polarizing agent. If it is true, as we are required to acknowledge, that someone with a college education earns almost twice the income of someone who doesn't have the higher education, would Ms. Jones find that an argument against colleges? Education is the primary polarizer, others being industry and intelligence.

The Global Crossing collapse hurt a great many people, the most conspicuous victims being the 9,000 workers who found themselves jobless. Also, the however many it was who put up $15 billion. But—and in this respect, Global Crossing and Enron do have something in common—a joint casualty is the encouragement given to such as Representative Jones to flame out with her demagogy.

What Book to Buy?

NEW YORK, MARCH 26

THE frustration in the book business mounts as the years go by, but is probably no more clamorous than yesterday for the reason that publishing houses and authors have simply given up. How do you get word out about a book?

The publishing houses are of course professionally concerned in the matter. The basic problem has to do with the cost of print advertising. Many newspapers run book-review sections at a loss—reviews are not widely read, and costs being as they are, advertising rates are almost always higher than a publisher can prudently come up with. You hear advertising on radio for books, usually for fast-selling, fast-page-turning thrillers, which generate their own demand. Other devices are sought, most prominently the solicitation of blurbs from people whose endorsement might help engender a spark in the book-buyer, who, passing by the shelf, will pause, ponder the blurb that says, "The best book about Hollywood ever written," and maybe reach for his/her wallet.

How to address a potential blurber is an aspect of the evolving culture. "Dear Mr. Hemingway: John Tadpole has written a wonderful book about fishing, and since you are the acknowledged master of the art, we especially hope you will want to read this book and give us a line or two we can put on the jacket. . . ."

More often, the letter from the publisher is pretty utilitarian, and of course the recipient has to measure several things in deciding on the request. One of them is that to undertake to read the entire book is a serious commitment. A typical book (300 pages) requires 5–10 hours of reading time, and people who are other than professional book-readers are therefore being asked to spend all of their reading time for 5–10 days on the problematic book. That is a considerable investment, which the writer is likelier to make if the author is a friend, if the subject of the book especially interests him, or if he feels a public obligation to do what he can to forward the book's fortunes.

Most of us in the book-writing business get more requests than could be handled if one were to give up eating and sleeping in order to read all the proffered book galleys. Now the publishers know this. Most of them don't want to invite explicit cheating, and try to find genteel ways of saying: Look, you don't have to read every word of this manuscript, just read enough of it to be confident that the blurb you give us will satisfy you as being honest. If you are disposed to endorse a history of fishing, don't feel you have to read all 57 chapters. But the attempt to lighten the load reaches occasional highs.

I have today a request by a publishing company (call it Alexis & Sons) to endorse a forthcoming book on the Alexis schedule. The publisher doesn't intrude by sending along the galleys. "Would you do us the honor of serving as an endorser? We seek a few brief sentences or phrases. I've included an overview of the book along with some biographical information. It would be a privilege if you would like to see the manuscript, which I can send you immediately."

Now this publisher will relieve you of the pain of reading the book you are endorsing, but hark! Alexis & Sons will also spare you the pain of devising an endorsement of it. The letter from Alexis has a postscript:

"Samples to choose from, rework, or use in any combination: 1) 'I was stunned by the power of [*The Trials of Elmer*]. This book will change your life.' Or, 2) '[*The Trials of Elmer*] expresses an emotional depth that moves beyond anything I have experienced in a book.' "

The letter in question very nearly prompts me to write to the publisher to say, *Yes! By all mean send me a copy!* I want my life to change and will absolutely read any book that promises to move me towards emotional depth beyond any other book I have ever read!

But I will cool off on Elmer by the time I complete this sentence. What I will definitely look out for in the bookstores is the book on Elmer. I want to read the endorsements of it on the jacket.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

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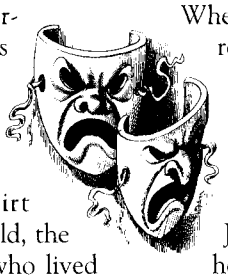
■ THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER ■

FLORENCE KING

I'm in a nostalgic mood. I just put in for Medicare and Social Security, so we're talking milestones big time. Since I feel like reminiscing, I've decided to tell you about my Aunt Ellen.

She wasn't really my aunt. I don't know what to call her; she wasn't legally adopted, and foster-care programs didn't exist when she came into our family. I suppose she was the ward of my grandparents and they were her guardians, but if so, they were merely courtesy titles because there was never any legal arrangement.



It happened in 1919. The now-sprawling D.C. suburb of Arlington, Virginia, was then a little country town with dirt roads. Ellen was two months old, the youngest of four in a family who lived nearby. They were having a bad time; the father, who drank, had run off, and the mother's epilepsy had worsened since the birth of the new baby, so my grandmother and the other townswomen did what they could to help.

One day, Granny sent my mother over with something for them. The kitchen door was open and the woman was standing at the stove with the baby in one arm, stirring a pot. Just as Mama walked in, she gave a high-pitched shriek and fell into a fit, dropping the baby on the hot surface of the old wood stove. The blanket started smoldering.

Mama grabbed the baby, tore off the burning blanket, put the baby on the floor, and grabbed the wooden spoon from the pot and put it between the woman's teeth. Quick thinking for a ten-year-old, but so typical of the mother I was to know: She never read a book in her life, including mine, but she had the sharpest brain I've ever encountered.

Picking up the baby, she ran down the road to get the sheriff (nobody had a telephone). The upshot of the situation was grim; the mother had to be institutionalized and the four children had to be what was then called "taken in." The sheriff handled it very simply by parceling them out on the spot. The older children were easier to care for and could make themselves useful doing chores, but nobody wanted the two-month-old baby. Since Mama had simply taken her home and Granny had been caring for her, it was a fait accompli. No forms to fill out, no charges of abuse and kidnapping, no armies of social workers bearing anatomically correct dolls, no petitions to recall the sheriff: They just kept her.

Whenever I think of Ellen I always recall Queen Victoria's wish that her pale blond family could import "some olive skin and dark hair." Ellen was our import, a Celtic brunette with jet-black eyes, a dead ringer for Jane Russell. My first memory of her is when Gerry, who was stationed in Hawaii and whom she later married, sent her a grass skirt and she did the hula. Though she looked like a sensuous island girl, her outward femininity and glamour concealed an essential remoteness: She was a hula dancer who kept herself to herself. To say "she loved to read" is inadequate. She read voraciously, as though using books as literal shields to keep the world at bay. Maybe it was her knowledge that she was "adopted," but she refused to let herself *need*.

She proved that at her wedding. Various male relatives offered to give her away, including my father, but she chose to go up the aisle alone. She was the only solitary bride I've ever seen and I was enchanted, even though I had an ear infection and a fever of 102. It was February and they tried to make me stay home, but I set up such an outcry that they relented. I ended up in the hospital but seeing dark Ellen all in white was worth it.

Whenever Ellen was physically demonstrative it made family news. One such occasion was after the war when we visited her and Gerry in upstate New York. When they met our train, she hugged Mama. It was the first thing we told Granny when we got back home, and she promptly got on the phone and spread it around. She didn't hug me, but she belonged to the Doubleday Dollar Book Club and I read all of her historical novels that summer, so we talked a lot. That fall, I showed the kids at school our vacation snapshots of myself with Ellen and told them she was my mother.

I was the official family letter-writer, so Ellen's were always addressed to me. It went on like this, letters and summer visits, until Gerry decided, rather late in life, to go to college on the GI Bill. They moved with the children to a cramped university apartment and we couldn't visit anymore. Since I was in college myself by then, I bombarded Gerry with advice on tricks of the student trade—e.g., you don't need to buy all the textbooks, especially the Samuelson for Econ I, etc. I turned into a compulsive tipster. Not for him, though I liked him, but for Ellen; the move was rough on her, so I wanted to get Gerry through college as quickly and cheaply as possible.

Much later, I dedicated my second book to her, and when I started reviewing and blurbing, I sometimes did it with her in mind. I took historical novels I didn't really want to read because I knew she liked them, so I could send them to her with a copy of my review. I also blurbed a novel about the WWII homefront because it reminded me of her hula period; I didn't particularly like it, but I wanted Ellen to see my blurb on the cover, so I raved it.

She and Gerry, the gregarious joiner, were divorced after 35 years. It was the only time I've ever been affected by "the crisis in modern marriage." She went to live with her son. I phoned her regularly, but something was wrong: She had trouble remembering who I was. "Hi, it's Flo." "Who?" "Flo." " . . . Flo?" Not long after, she was diagnosed with Alzheimer's and had to be put in a nursing home.

I didn't visit her. I wanted to remember her in her grass skirt, doing the hula, and that cape of black hair under the white veil. It would have been too sad trying to reach her—and besides, I already had. After she died, her daughter-in-law told me, "She was so happy and touched when you dedicated that book to her—she didn't say much, but I could tell." **NR**

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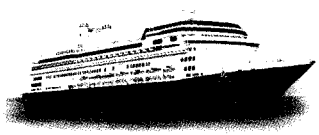

According to Robert Hendrix, Amsterdam's Executive Chef, Embassy® Satin Band is the perfect match. "We have extremely fast turnover between seatings," he says, "and Embassy linens always come back soft and clean. With Embassy we never run short of linens, and we don't have to reorder as often as we used to with poly/cotton."

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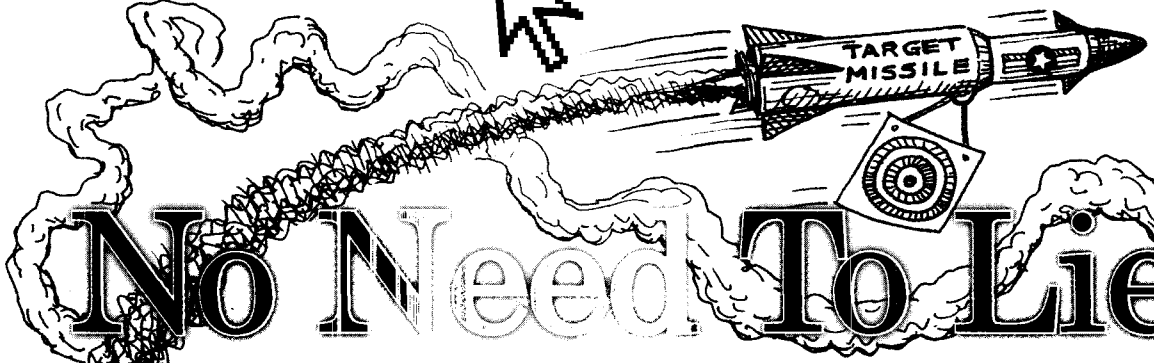


No Need To Lie

Hiding The Truth About 'Star Wars'

"This certainly has the appearance of a well-orchestrated fraud," MIT physicist Theodore Postal, a critic of the 'Star Wars' missile defense program, told *The Boston Globe* last week. Postal was reacting to a just-released General Accounting Office report documenting how, in a 1997 test, missile defense contractors **Boeing** and **TRW** manipulated data to make a failure look like a success.

Also last week, the Union of Concerned Scientists released an analysis of a January 25 anti-missile test that defense contractor **Raytheon** said "demonstrated the capability" of sea-based missile defense systems. **"This is clearly not true,"** concluded UCS analyst David Wright, who detailed the test's many shortcomings.

The GAO and UCS reports show how the 'Star Wars' program depends on rigged tests and overstated successes to justify its existence. But such tactics may no longer be needed: **Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld has now exempted the Missile Defense Agency from normal oversight and accountability.**

The agency "will not be subject to traditional reporting about program timelines and costs. And many of its testing efforts will be free from oversight by the Pentagon's test evaluation office," Bradley Graham reported in *The Washington Post* on February 16.

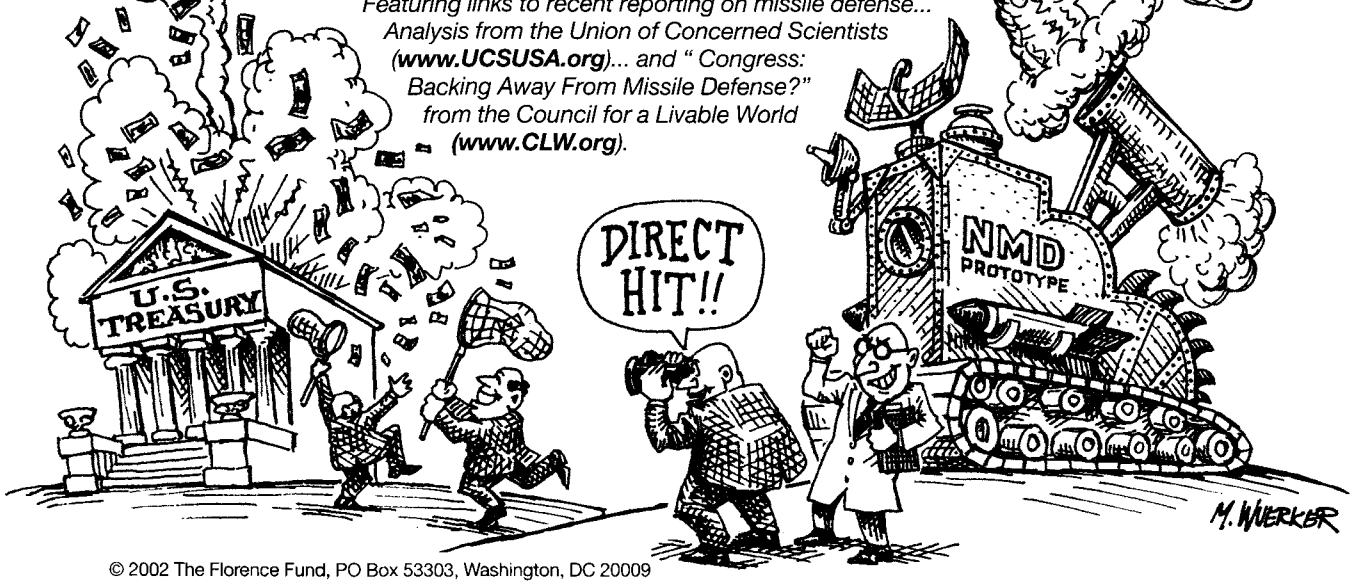
Several members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff "expressed reservations" when briefed by Rumsfeld on the new exemptions, Graham reported. But no matter – Rumsfeld granted his special dispensation anyway.

So, as Pentagon generals give defense contractors an estimated *QUARTER-OF-A-TRILLION TAX DOLLARS* to chase the 'Star Wars' fantasy over the next decade, there won't be any need to lie about it's failures.

President Bush has decided to let them hide the truth.

TomPaine.com – No Need To Lie

*Featuring links to recent reporting on missile defense... Analysis from the Union of Concerned Scientists (**www.UCSUSA.org**)... and " Congress: Backing Away From Missile Defense?" from the Council for a Livable World (**www.CLW.org**).*



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